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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PRINCE OF WALES.

VOL. I.

MEMOIRS

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Prince of Wales.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

"In these unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of Princes with a jealous, a scrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himself above all suspicion."

Letter from the Prince of Wales to the King.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

These MEMOIRS

OF

His Royal Highness the PRINCE *of* WALES

ARE,

In all deference, humility, and respect,

INSCRIBED,

By Her Majesty's

Most dutiful and devoted Servant

THE AUTHOR.

been the object of so many calumnies and reproaches as the Prince of Wales. From whence has this feeling proceeded? As Englishmen, as lovers of the House of Brunswick, and grateful for the mild sway with which they have reigned over these realms, we utterly disclaim it.

The object of our work is to rescue the Prince of Wales from the unmerited obloquy that for years has been so sedulously heaped upon him, and, as it is our highest ambition, so it will be our best reward, to find that our labours have not been altogether unsuccessful.

MEMOIRS

OF

H. R. H. George Augustus Frederick

PRINCE OF WALES.

CHAPTER I.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK—BIRTH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES—HIS HEREDITARY HONOURS—EDUCATION—REFLECTIONS ON THE EDUCATION OF PRINCES IN GENERAL—PRECEPTORS OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS—DR. MARKHAM AND DR. JACKSON, DR. HURD AND MR. ARNOLD—ANECDOTE OF DR. JACKSON—ANECDOTES OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

NO royal house in Europe can boast of a more illustrious line of ancestors than that which happily for the liberty and independence of their subjects is

placed on the throne of these realms. Antiquarians have traced the descent of the house of Brunswick to those ages that immediately succeeded the subversion of the Roman empire, and reckon among the founders of the family Caius Ætius, a noble Roman who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century, Pharamond, Duke of the Franks, and many other renowned chieftains, whose names are consecrated in the annals of the earlier periods of modern European history. The representative of all these noble houses, Henry, the Lion, Duke of Brunswick, married Maud, the daughter of Henry II. King of England, who was lineally descended from Egbert, the first king of England, and consequently in her veins flowed the blood of Alfred the Great, and of the pure Saxon race of English sovereigns.

Passing by the intermediate genealogies of the house of Brunswick, through the course of the middle centuries, as not generally interesting to the majority of readers, it will only be necessary very briefly to shew in what way the proximity of blood came, which in the early part of the last century caused the Brunswick line to be called to the throne of these kingdoms. The marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. in 1485, by uniting the pretensions of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, put an end to the factions that for so many reigns had desolated England, and stained it with the blood of the flower of its princes, nobility, and gentry. Henry left issue by this marriage, a son, Henry VIII. and a daughter, Margaret, married to James IV. King of Scotland. On the *failure of the line* of Tudor in the

person of Queen Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland, and first of that name in England, succeeded, as matter of right, to the crown, being descended in the third generation from Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, and, consequently, uniting in his own person all the claims of the different lines that had successively wielded the sceptre of England.

Elizabeth, daughter of James I. married Frederic, Elector Palatine, and afterwards King of Bohemia. By this prince she had a daughter, Sophia, married to Ernestus, Elector of Hanover, and representative of the house of Brunswick, Hanover, Lunenburgh, Wolfenbuttel, Zelle, &c. whose posterity, by virtue of the Act of Settlement, now fill the throne of Great Britain.

In this enlightened age, when personal merit is justly considered as a *more valuable* recommendation than

mere hereditary honours, the people of England would probably have little reason to be satisfied with their sovereign or his family, however illustrious their descent, or clear their claims to the proud blood of our Harries and our Edwards, if they had not claims on the loyalty and affection of their subjects far superior to those unsubstantial ties which have their foundation merely in prejudice and opinion. The house of Brunswick may indeed exhibit its genealogy with those of the most ancient royal houses of Europe, without any fear of being eclipsed by greater splendour of ancestry; but the brightest gem of their house, and that of which they may with most justice be proud and tenacious, is the love and attachment the British people have invariably shewn them from their first accession to the throne of these kingdoms.

The first princes of the house of Brunswick that filled the British throne were foreigners by birth, and consequently could not be expected to be very well acquainted with the genius, habits, constitution, or character of the people whom they were called to govern. However, the mildness of their sway, and the paternal exercise of their authority was such, that no princes, acting under the disadvantages that they did, ever conciliated in a more eminent degree the regard and veneration of all classes of their subjects. It would be difficult to point out in the whole range of English history a period in which the nation enjoyed so uninterrupted a course of prosperity as it did under the auspicious reigns of George I. and George II. Both were princes of moral character, and excellent personal humanity of disposition. The only fault of which they have

ever been accused, with the least shadow of justice, is the partiality which on some occasions they shewed for their continental dominions. But this was a natural and venial error, and was amply atoned for by the many other princely virtues with which they were endowed, and which have descended with their royal inheritance to their posterity.

It is for the future historian to decide upon the character of the present reign, and to shew, in what degree the calamities that have of late years accumulated on the country are imputable to the personal exercise of the executive power, or the misconduct of the constitutional and responsible advisers of the crown. But these are subjects of discussion foreign to the nature of this work; and, therefore, it may be just sufficient to observe, that, however *the* general policy of the

present reign may have been objectionable in the eyes of a numerous and respectable body of his subjects, still, his majesty, personally has not for a moment ceased to possess the warm attachment and loyal devotion of his people of every rank. Persons may differ on questions of state expediency, and, in a government like that of Great Britain, where so much freedom is given to the discussion of public affairs, and where public opinion has so great a weight in influencing the decisions of government, it is not wonderful that one part of the nation should condemn as impolitic and ruinous those very measures that are applauded by another part, and recommended to adoption as absolutely necessary to provide for the national safety. Hence have arisen all the factions and parties of the present reign, and the accusations with which they

have alternately loaded each other. Posterity must do justice between them. We live too near the scene, and have participated too largely in the heats and feelings of the times to be impartial judges. Yet, however divided the public opinion may be as to the general policy of the present reign, or of the wisdom or propriety of particular measures that have distinguished his majesty's government, still it will be readily admitted by men of all parties, that no prince was ever seated on the British throne of better intentions than his present majesty. This is a fact so generally felt, that it scarcely needs the aid of any argument to support it. At the conclusion of the American war, a period in every respect so disgraceful and disastrous for Britain, it was then acknowledged that the personal good intentions of the monarch exempted him from the

blame of having patronized or recommended that unhappy contest; and the people, without feeling any abatement of their love and veneration for their sovereign, transferred the odium of those measures from the monarch to his servants. Subsequently the people have had occasion sometimes to complain of the measures of government, but, except among a few deluded persons, the desperate advocates of the French revolution in its earlier stages, his majesty has continued through his long reign to enjoy the sincere attachment of a free and enlightened people, who, in admiration of the personal virtues of the man, overlooked the political mistakes of the monarch.

We deem it necessary to make these observations in the threshold of our work, both to vindicate our own loyalty, and to rebut an argument too frequent with politicians of a certain

class, namely, that no person must venture to disapprove of the measures of government, without incurring the hazard of being charged with dissatisfaction to the person of the king. This is a mode of arguing so wretchedly vague and inconclusive, that it would not merit to be refuted, but for the circumstance, that weak and inefficient as this argument is, it has been applied with great industry, and on some occasions it seems to have been productive of material consequences. We shall have occasion to notice hereafter that the illustrious subject of these memoirs himself, with other branches of his august family, have had their motives and actions calumniated; and there have not been wanting writers base enough to attribute to them principles, unnatural as sons, and disloyal as subjects. It is an old observation, *that the* great stand on an

eminence, exposed to the shafts of censure; and to this we may add, that there never was a period in the history of nations, when men were disposed to look with so jealous an eye on the actions and conduct of persons in eminent stations as the present. The freedom of our national press, which in some instances, perhaps, borders on licentiousness, and the liberty of discussion which our public assemblies cherish, and which their organization is so admirably calculated to promote, keep alive this spirit of investigation, and the great, as the tax which they pay for the privileges of rank and power, must be content to have their conduct scrutinized by their inferiors. But the mischief of which we shall have to complain, and which we shall endeavour to remedy, is that ungenerous and disingenuous mode of argument by *which* motives and feelings are attri-

buted to personages by which it is almost morally impossible they should ever have been actuated.

No prince was ever loaded with more calumnies of this description than His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and none perhaps ever deserved them less. For years he seems to have been a mark for libellers to aim their darts at; and of late the press has almost literally groaned with the works that have teemed from it, calumniating and vilifying him. The object of this work is to relieve his royal highness from the misrepresentations that have gone abroad against him, to place his character in its true colours, and to shew the people of England, however of late they may have been industriously instructed to think otherwise, that the present heir apparent to the crown of these realms is as distinguished for every good,

great, and noble quality, and will wear the crown, whenever providence shall call him to the succession, with as much honour to himself and advantage to his subjects, as ever it was worn by any the most renowned of his predecessors.

To do strict justice to the character of this amiable and much calumniated prince, we shall not conceal his foibles, nor indeed is there any occasion for so unfair a procedure; for of what weaknesses can his royal highness be accused since his first entrance into public life, except those venial faults which have always been held pardonable in youth and elevated station? His friends have compared him with Henry V. when Prince of Wales, and in many particulars his character bears a strong resemblance to that of the conqueror of Agincourt. But to pursue a parallel between those two princes, it should

be taken into consideration that Henry lived in times widely different from our own. The manners of the nation had then made but small progress towards refinement and civilization, and Henry, with all the fire and vivacity of youth, entered deeply into the gaities of a rough and semi-barbarous age. But, when he mounted the throne, what prince ever more completely redeemed the faults of his youth? The pride and glory of his own country, and scourge and terror of France, he carried the English name to a pitch of renown unequalled by the most fortunate of his predecessors; while under his wise and salutary government, at home the nation attained a degree of internal prosperity unknown among contemporary states. Who has not heard of the youthful excesses of this great prince, so admirably pourtrayed by our immortal bard? Who has not

read of the glorious achievements of his future reign? And shall we then be so unjust to the foibles of a prince of our own times as to condemn him for faults that are incident to his age and station, and may find their excuses in example and the present state of manners? This would be obviously unjust; and, therefore, in treating of the foibles of the Prince of Wales, we shall not view them with cynic severity, but as we are sure they are viewed by a great majority of the people, and by all the liberal-minded of the nation, as the pardonable exuberances of a gallant and high-spirited prince, sanctioned by fashion and the manners of his times.

His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Great Britain, Prince of Wales, Electoral Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Ches-

ter and Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Great Steward of Scotland, &c. &c. the eldest son of their present majesties, was born on the 12th of August, 1762, a day auspicious to the house of Brunswick, and to the British nation, being the anniversary of the accession of the Brunswick line to the throne of these dominions. Agreeable to the state etiquette which has been observed on the delivery of the Queens of England ever since the birth of the son (or pretended son) of James II. the Princess Dowager of Wales, and other branches of the royal family, and all the great ministers of state, were present in the royal bed-chamber on the occasion. The birth of the prince diffused a general joy through the nation, and loyal addresses were voted to their majesties by both houses of parliament, by the city *of London,* the two univer-

sities, and all the other great bodies corporate in the kingdom.

A few days after his birth his royal highness was created Prince of Wales by letters patent. This title was first conferred by Edward I. in 1284, upon his son Prince Edward, when the British Prince Llhewelyn was reduced, and his principality incorporated with England. The mode of conferring this dignity is by investiture with a cap, coronet, gold verge, and ring, and by issue of letters patent under the great seal. Notwithstanding the title of Prince of Wales has often merged in the crown, it has never yet been bestowed on any but the heir apparent to the crown.

The Prince of Wales is born Duke of Cornwall, and immediately entitled to all the revenues belonging to that duchy; but as we shall have occasion *hereafter* to observe, the large revenues

of Cornwall, which should have been suffered to accumulate for the benefit of his royal highness during his minority, were suffered to be diverted into other channels; nor have his fair claims for the restitution of what may properly be called his patrimonial inheritance, though often brought before parliament, yet been acceded to, notwithstanding the opinions of some of the best law authorities have been decidedly in his favour.

The Prince of Wales, as presumptive heir to the crown of Great Britain, is likewise hereditary Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, and Baron of Renfrew. These were titles conferred by Robert III. King of Scotland, on the Prince, his eldest son, in 1399, and perpetually appropriated to the future princes of Scotland, as soon as born. Since the *accession* of James I. they

have been continued to the Prince of Wales in Great Britain. It may be remarked here as a matter that cannot but occasion some surprise, that the Prince of Wales enjoys no Irish honours; all the junior branches of the royal family are Earls of Ireland, the heir apparent being the only one of his house who does not derive some title of honour from the sister island.

In addition to the dignities above recited, his royal highness was elected a knight companion of the most noble order of the garter in 1765, and installed at Windsor, July 25, 1771.

From the detail of the family descent and hereditary honours of the Prince of Wales, we shall now proceed to give some account of the earlier years of his royal highness's life, and of the plan of education pursued to qualify him to wear with credit to *himself* and advantage to his subjects

the crown to which he was heir. It is an observation which has been made by more writers than one, that the British nation, so jealous in almost every thing else that regards its princes, has been singularly inattentive to what concerns their education. Parliament, which limits the settlement of the crown, points out the religion of the reigning family, takes cognizance of the marriages of the princes of the blood, and confers on them revenues and establishments, leaves the education of our British princes wholly to the discretion of the reigning sovereign. "It is a matter of prerogative," say the crown lawyers, "with which the two houses of parliament have no right to interfere;" and therefore, whenever the point has been agitated in the legislature, as has happened in one or two instances, the answer of the friends of the *court to those* who perceived, or

thought they perceived, something faulty in the system of education pursued with regard to the young princes, has been, that the education of the princes of the blood was a branch of the royal prerogative, with which parliament could not interpose, and that the mere agitation of the subject was derogatory to the honour of the crown.

This indifference of the great council of the nation in regard to a point so nearly connected with future honour of the executive power, as well as the happiness of those whom they may be called to govern, forms a striking contrast with what was the practice of the Swedish monarchy previous to the revolution effected by Gustavus III. Antecedent to that revolution, the constitution of Sweden was free in the enlarged acceptance of the term, and *bore* a closer resemblance to that of

England than that of any other nation on the continent. The states of Sweden consisted of four separate chambers or houses of parliament, in whom were vested the deliberative faculties of the government, as the executive powers were in the sovereign. By these chambers it was deemed a particular part of their duty to watch over the education of the heir apparent of the Swedish crown. For this purpose, at particular seasons, the young prince was called upon to undergo a public examination before the states of the kingdom, and his proficiency in general knowledge, in religion, in the science of government, and in all those acquirements which are so necessary to be possessed by him who is destined to fill a throne, was gathered from the readiness with which he answered the various questions proposed to him by the clergy, *the nobles*, the burghers,

or the peasants. It was not a mere state ceremony, an imposing spectacle to captivate and delude the vulgar, but a real and efficient measure of national policy, and the young prince was dismissed with applause, or his instructors with censure, in proportion as he realized the hopes, or they disappointed the expectations of the representatives of the nation.

Had a ceremony of this kind prevailed in England, as free from restraint as it did in Sweden previous to the revolution by which the liberties of that people unhappily were wrested from them, we probably should not have heard of a complaint, too often made, of the bad education of our princes. Whether it is expedient that princes should be scholars, is a question, we think, which will not admit of much diversity of opinion: but it is the *reproach* of English education, that

ornamental objects are preferred to those of utility; and an invariable mode of forming a scholar is applied to all the purposes of life. It must be evident to every mind of the least reflection, that a system of education, however well calculated to form the private gentleman, the senator, or the nobleman, is not that system which is best adapted for the cultivation of the understanding of one whose high destinies call him to rule over millions, and to influence the fate of nations. Louis XIV. though by no means a well educated prince himself, but, on the contrary, through the arts of Cardinal Mazarin, brought up almost in profound ignorance, was fully sensible of the distinction that was necessary to be observed in the education of princes, when he called on Fenelon to undertake the instruction of the dauphin. Philip of Macedon, when he

confided the education of his son Alexander to Aristotle, said he thanked the God not so much for having given him a son, as for having given him at a period when he could have the benefit of the instructions of so great a philosopher as Aristotle. The late Empress of Russia, in the education of her imperial grandsons, appears to have proceeded upon the same idea. It was not to make those young princes proficients in the belles lettres, to give them the manners of polished gentlemen, or accomplished courtiers, that she called the virtuous La Harpe from Switzerland, and committed to his care the future hopes of the empire which she had raised to such a pitch of splendour; but it was that their minds, by the tuition and diligence of one of the most enlightened and disinterested philosophers of modern times, might be imbued with an early love of virtue,

and, at a future day, prove worthy of the cares of the empire.

These observations may be differently applied. The philosopher in his closet may lay down a theory for the education of a young prince, which in his judgment shall appear infallible, yet, when it is attempted to be reduced to practice how abortive will the trial prove! The business of real life is so unlike what sages conceive in their closets, that it is no wonder their most beautiful speculations should often be found utterly inapplicable to it. Nero, it is well known, was the scholar of Seneca, one of the most severe and rigid moralists of all antiquity; but whatever might have been the value of Seneca's instructions, it is certain that a more atrocious monster than his pupil never dishonoured human nature. James I. re-

ceived his education under the celebrated Buchannan, a man unquestionably admirably qualified to instruct a young prince in the maxims of government; yet it is notorious from history, that James made but a very indifferent sovereign.

Probably it would be found, on a strict investigation, that the virtues and vices of sovereigns depend far less than is generally imagined on that youthful discipline or tuition on which we usually bestow the name of education. As no art of the statuary can give to a block of stone the exquisite polish of Parian marble, so no instructions of the preceptor can impart humanity, clemency, generosity, or a love of virtue and justice to his pupil, when by nature those qualities are wanting in him. The utmost that perhaps can be done is to correct and

modify what is absolutely bad, and to cherish and foster whatever holds out any promise of good.

It is a remark that has been repeated by innumerable writers, that those princes have made the best sovereigns who have been educated in the school of adversity; and Queen Elizabeth of England, and Henry the Great of France, have frequently been cited as examples in favour of this opinion. But if we examine the reigns of those two great sovereigns a little narrowly, we shall probably find that it was not the discipline of adversity alone which made them so justly the delight of their people, and the admiration of posterity, but that both of them possessed qualities of mind, which, independent of any circumstances that befel them previous to their mounting their respective thrones, rendered them worthy *of the splendid* inheritance to

which each of them ultimately through a series of difficulties succeeded. Did adversity really possess the admirable quality of rendering excellent sovereigns, those who have tasted of its bitter waters previous to their wearing a crown, Charles II. and James II. both endured as much adversity before the restoration, as either Elizabeth or Henry; but the reign of the former was a series of mistakes in government, and of encroachments on the rights of the people; and the latter was driven from the throne, and his posterity cut off from the succession, for manifest and repeated violations of the principles of the constitution.

Let it not be said then, that adversity is the best, the only school of princes. In the days of Elizabeth the constitution of England, and the coordinate powers of the three estates, *were as yet* but imperfectly under-

stood. It was not until the revolution that the functions and prerogatives of each member of the state were so clearly defined, that the one was no longer allowed to trench on the privileges of the other, and the balance of each so nicely adjusted, that no one estate could, as formerly, destroy the equilibrium of the whole.

The certainty and clearness introduced into our government at the revolution, have rendered the personal character of the reigning monarch an object of much less importance than it was before that auspicious era. The splendour of the throne, for every purpose that a wise and beneficent sovereign can desire, remains undiminished, but its powers, in regard to those purposes to which an evil-disposed sovereign might be inclined to convert them, are checked by wholesome and salutary *curbs*. But still far distant

be the day when a prince shall be seated on the British throne, who can harbour a thought injurious to the interests of his subjects. In such an unhappy exigency, he must be partial indeed in his opinions of our public men, who could hope for a display of much virtue or disinterestedness among our statesmen at such a crisis of the constitution.

It must therefore follow, that though many restraints have undoubtedly been put on the exercise of the royal authority, and those restraints at various periods have been called into action, still it is of the utmost consequence that the throne should never be occupied except by one intimately acquainted with the principles of the constitution, and firmly resolved to make the constitution the rule of his government.

His present majesty, it is sufficiently

known, was educated under the influence of the Earl of Bute, and the Princess Dowager of Wales, his mother, in principles far less favourable to civil and religious liberty, than those of his royal predecessors of the Brunswick line; and much of the mistaken policy, as well as most of the ill-advised measures of his reign, have been supposed to have flowed from the defective system of his education. The Queen, bred up in foreign prejudices, could not be thought to have imbibed any sentiments very friendly to the essential principles of a free constitution, and therefore probably embraced with eagerness the system which she found prevalent in the court where she was adopted. Without mingling much in politics, and always with caution, her majesty has just had opportunity enough to shew, that *in* political sentiments her

principles are the same as those of her august partner, or, in other words, that they lean to those notions of prerogative and high church, which, ever since the revolution, previous to the present reign, have been held dangerous to the liberties of the subject.

The Queen's partialities could not fail to accord with the King's tory bias; and when we take into consideration also that the King himself was strongly tinctured with German predilections, we cannot be surprised to find that a system of education was pursued, in regard to the young princes, something less liberal perhaps than ought to have been adopted towards the sons of the sovereign of a great and a free people. The English universities cannot easily forget the affront that was tacitly put upon them, when the junior branches of the royal family were *sent to* Germany for the completion of

their education. Happily for our ancient seats of learning, the nobility and gentry of England are still satisfied with the merits and diligence of our native professors and college tutors, and uninfluenced by the royal example, are content with such instruction as the schools of Oxford and Cambridge can supply, leaving the luminaries and sages of Gottingen and Halle to the care of their own youth.

The dignity of his station, and the important place which he held in the state, as immediate heir to the crown, prevented the Prince of Wales from being sent to Germany, to receive the finishing parts of his education. In other respects, the plan of his royal highness's education was such as was natural to be expected from the known, and, in this instance, uncontroled prejudices of his royal parents. The

persons selected for the important task of forming the mind of the heir apparent, were men in the highest degree estimable for their moral characters and various literary attainments; but it was remarked, with some concern, that in their political principles they were high churchmen and tories, or the mere creatures of the court.

When we consider the freedom from magisterial controul that is allowed at our public schools, and the perfect liberty that our princes of the blood enjoy after they are emancipated from the trammels of their minority, we shall not be able easily to assign a sufficient motive for the system of restraint and seclusion that was so rigorously adhered to in the education of the Prince of Wales. We have read of the discipline of camps, and have heard of the etiquette of courts, but we are *utterly* at a loss to conceive what bene-

fit was expected to be derived from a system, the obvious effect of which was to keep a young and high-spirited prince entirely ignorant of the world, until the very moment when he was about to enter into it. One of the happy effects of a public education is, that young men are gradually seasoned, and familiarized to a commerce with the world, by their boyish intercourse with their equals at school; and if princes at their first entrance on public life shew somewhat less of discretion or prudence than other youths of high rank perhaps do, is it to be imputed rather to something radically wrong in their dispositions, than to the defective system of their education?

The education of the Prince of Wales was conducted on a plan perfectly well calculated to render him a respectable scholar and an accomplished *gentleman*, but ill calculated

to make him either a prudent prince or a great monarch. It was so austere, perhaps we should not use too harsh a word if we were to say so repulsive, that the moment of his royal highness's emancipation was that of a prisoner from confinement: debarred from those pleasures so natural to youth, he plunged into the joys of society with all the avidity of one who had never tasted of joy.

It is not intended in this place to cast the slightest insinuation on the character of those who were the prince's preceptors; they were not answerable for the defects of a plan, in the formation of which it is probable they were never consulted. Indeed, it would be injustice to the memory of one of them, and a neglect of the merit of those who survive, not to declare that the persons to whose care the charge of the juve*nile years of* the Prince of Wales was

committed, were men eminently qualified for the due execution of so important a trust. Dr. Markham, the late venerable Archbishop of York, who in February, 1771, on the first establishment for the education of the Prince of Wales, was appointed preceptor to his royal highness, was a clergyman who had risen in his profession solely by his own merit. At the early age of thirty he had the distinguished honour to be chosen first master of Westminster school, and during fourteen years he discharged, with the highest reputation, the laborious duties of that useful and honourable employment. His merits while he presided over the first school in the kingdom were not overlooked, and in 1767, his public services were rewarded with the deanery of Christ-church. This lucrative benefice is a dignity of great importance and responsibility,

involving the care both of a college and a cathedral. The college, distinguished by its wealth, by the magnificence of its buildings, and the rank and number of its members, towers above the sister institutions of Oxford; and it has long been the endeavour of those who have presided over it to justify its claims to superiority more by the solid distinctions of eminence in discipline, in learning, and whatever can add lustre to a religious and literary foundation. Under the vigilant guardianship of Dr. Markham, Christchurch preserved its accustomed pretentions to superiority, and seldom less than from twenty to thirty youths of the first families in the kingdom were entrusted to his care. On his consecration to the bishopric of Chester, he resigned the deanery of Christchurch, and soon after was appointed *preceptor to* the Prince of Wales.

The sub-preceptor of the prince at this period was Dr. Cyril Jackson, a man who, like Dr. Markham, had advanced his fortune in life by his diligence in the pursuit of knowledge and the variety of his literary attainments.

Dr. Markham and Dr. Jackson continued preceptors to the prince till the year 1776, when a new establishment was formed, and Dr. Markham was succeeded by Dr. Hurd, the present Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Jackson by Mr. Arnold, tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge.* Why Dr. Mark-

* The spirited author of "Lessons to a Prince," a work that has gone through several editions, and is well deserving of perusal both on account of the soundness of its principles and the elegant language in which they are conveyed, speaking of this change of the royal preceptors says, "The question, 'Whether it was expedient that princes should be scholars?' greatly agitated the domestic cabinet of B—— House almost a year. Dr. M—— and Mr. J—— had engaged them in the road of knowledge. Lord H—— *traversed their* endeavours; and they

ham and Dr. Jackson were not allowed to complete the education of the Prince of Wales is not generally known, but we cannot entirely subscribe to the censure that is passed on their successors in the subjoined note. Dr. Hurd, it is almost unnecessary to say, is in every respect an amiable prelate, a polished scholar, and a man of the most exemplary morals. Both he and the sub-preceptor, Mr. Arnold, had been celebrated tutors at Cambridge, as their predecessors had been distinguished ornaments of the sister university. It seems, therefore, that the dismission of Dr. Markham and his colleague was not designed to convey any censure on their characters, but merely intended to afford his royal highness the united advantages that might be expected

were exchanged for the supple H—d and the *insignificant* A—d."

from those who excelled in the different pursuits of the two universities. In this conjecture we are confirmed by the circumstance that Dr. Markham always retained a very enviable portion of the royal favour, which certainly would not have been the case had he not, in the discharge of his duty, given satisfaction to the king, who, it is well known, personally superintended the education of his son. The same argument may also be applied in favour of Dr. Jackson, who, though he ceased to fill an office about the prince's person, sustained no diminution of the royal favour in consequence of that event. In 1783 he was appointed dean of Christ-church,* and upon the death

* A circumstance, which happened not long after the appointment of Dr. Jackson to the deanery of Christ-church, is so honourable to his character that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of relating it. We must premise in the first place that he entered upon the exercise *of his authority with a firm* determination not to

of Archbishop Newcombe he was offered the primacy of Ireland, but declined accepting it. We may there-

overlook any irregular conduct in the students, and to shew the strictest impartiality in the infliction of his censures.—At the commencement of the long vacation he gave out a general order in Christ-church that no member belonging to his society should be seen at the Oxford races, and, that if any happened to be at Oxford at the time, they should attend nine o'clock prayers. [When these prayers commence all the college gates are locked, and no undergraduate member after that time is suffered to go out of them.] Lord Duncannon, then a member of Christ-church, had previously engaged to dance with one of the Duke of Marlborough's daughters at the assembly in the evening, and, rather than violate his engagement, thought it necessary to transgress the dean's order. In consequence of this, the dean on the following morning sent his compliments, requesting to speak with his lordship; upon which Lord Duncannon perceived that his fate was inevitable, and that there was no alternative but withdrawing his signature off the books himself, in order to avoid expulsion. He accordingly did so, and then waited upon the dean, who immediately gave his lordship to understand that he should be under the disagreeable necessity of striking his name from the list of members. To which his lordship with much *candour* replied, "Sir, I well knew your determined resolution in case of a general order being

fore, we think, safely affirm that neither Dr. Markham, nor Dr. Jackson, were removed from their royal charge on account of any incapacity or negligence in the discharge of their duties, but to procure the royal youth some advantages of education which their successors were judged better qualified from their peculiar habits of study to impart.

It is a trait highly honourable to the feelings of the Prince of Wales that he has ever continued to hold his preceptors in high respect. For a proof

transgressed, and applaud it most heartily, but must take the liberty of informing you, that I have saved you the trouble of expelling me; and hope, therefore, we shall continue as good friends as before." Thus, without any anger or ungentlemanlylike behaviour on either side, was this affair conducted.—The dean was determined to maintain his ground in enforcing obedience to orders, and he did maintain it, though without giving unnecessary offence to the individual who suffered in consequence of such due observance of useful discipline.

of this we have only to mention the two following short anecdotes, which reflect equal credit on his royal highness's sensibility as a man, and on his condescension as a prince.—On his last summer excursion through some of the western counties of England, his royal highness happened to be in the neighbourhood of the palace of the Bishop of Worcester, and inquiring after the health of its venerable inhabitant, he was informed that his lordship was so infirm that he rarely stirred out of his episcopal residence, but that in other respects his faculties remained unimpaired, and he possessed as good a share of health and spirits as usually fall to the lot of persons at his advanced period of life. On receiving this information, his royal highness dispatched one of his attendants to the palace of his venerable and amiable preceptor, *to* ask his permission to wait upon him,

as he understood the state of his health did not permit him to come abroad. The good bishop, as may readily be conceived, was charmed with the condescension of his illustrious pupil, and in suitable terms expressed his grateful sense of the honour which his royal highness designed to shew him. An interview succeeded highly interesting to those who witnessed it, and the prince left the venerable prelate penetrated with the kindness, affability, and flattering remembrance of his royal pupil.

The other anecdote to which we refer is of a more recent date, and reflects perhaps still more honour on his royal highness's character. The prince, it is well known, for a number of years has been in the habit of collecting portraits of all the eminent personages who have at any time been honoured with his friendships. These

portraits are executed by the first artists, and form by far the finest collection of modern portraits that is to be met with in the kingdom. Among the other portraits of his distinguished friends, the Prince of Wales is in possession of an admirable likeness of the late Archbishop of York, which some few years ago was exhibited in the Royal Academy, and was then generally esteemed one of the finest portraits produced by the British school. As soon as his royal highness was informed of the death of the archbishop, he sent for Mr. Heath the engraver, and delivered the portrait of his deceased friend and preceptor into his hands for the purpose of executing an engraving from it in the artist's best style. Those who are acquainted with the merits of Mr. Heath's graver need not be told that the work could not *possibly* be put into better hands, and

those who rejoice at the patronage which the liberal arts have uniformly received from the Prince of Wales will not be surprised to learn that the artist in this instance has been desired to fix his own price for the remuneration of his labour. When this interesting plate is finished, which, from the well known talents of the artist, and the certain liberality of his reward, promises to be a chef d'œuvre of the British school of engraving, the copies are to be distributed among the relatives of the archbishop and the friends of the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER II.

CONNECTION WITH MRS. ROBINSON—HER NARRATIVE OF THE AFFAIR—THEIR SEPARATION—REMARKS—VERSES ADDRESSED BY MRS. ROBINSON TO THE PRINCE.

We now come to an incident in his royal highness's life which requires some delicacy in the relation, both in regard to the illustrious subject of these memoirs himself, and as far as it respects the fame of one whose beauty, whose talents, and whose misfortunes, cannot fail to interest every susceptible mind in her favour. Our readers will perceive at once that we allude to the connection which, before he had attained his majority, subsisted between the Prince of Wales and the lovely but

unhappy Mary Robinson, at that period better known to the gay world by the name (derived from one of her favourite characters) of the fascinating PERDITA. Mrs. Robinson has left us herself the history of this intercourse, written at a season when the heart deals with sincerity, in a season of sickness and dejection, when the gay prospects of her early life had vanished from her eyes, and nothing remained for her but an existence struggling with personal inconvenience, debility of frame, and unavailing regrets. The narrative which she has left of this connection carries with it indubitable evidence of its veracity, and though some allowance must be made for one who speaks, or perhaps, to use a more appropriate phrase, who rather pleads in her own behalf, still an air of candour and sincerity so pervades that portion of her memoirs to which we more particularly

allude, that we feel no hesitation in using her materials to give the narrative of the prince's first public introduction into the world of gallantry.

At the period when Mrs. Robinson first attracted the attention of the prince she was in the twenty-first and his royal highness in the nineteenth year of his age. Mrs. Robinson had played for two seasons at the theatre royal, Drury-lane, and the charms of her person and the graces of her acting had established her high in the favour of the town. The part in which she first appeared before his royal highness was the character of Perdita in the play of the Winter's Tale, which was commanded by their majesties. Mrs. Robinson relates, that, previous to the performance of the piece, she was rallied in the green-room on the handsomeness of her appearance, and that it *was prog*nosticated by Mr. Smith, an

actor, whose gentlemanly manners and enlightened conversation rendered him an ornament to the profession, that she would make a conquest of the prince.

These slight particulars do not deserve to be preserved farther than as they are transcripts of the mind of an interesting and unfortunate female. As Mr. Smith had foretold, the prince was captivated by the charms of the fair Perdita, and honoured her with every mark of attention that so public a scene as the theatre would permit. Not to follow Mrs. Robinson's narrative too closely, it may be sufficient to remark that in a few days Lord Malden (now Earl of Essex), one of the attendants of the Prince of Wales, waited on her by desire of his royal highness, and delivered a letter full of gallantry, addressed to Perdita, and signed Florizel.

This was *the first* overture on the

part of the prince, and Mrs. Robinson ingenuously confesses that it was flattering to her vanity to know that the most admired and most accomplished prince in Europe was devotedly attached to her. No immediate interview followed, owing in all probability to the restraint in which his royal highness was kept, but almost daily letters were conveyed to her from the prince through the agency of Lord Malden. Mrs. Robinson, who was an excellent judge of literary composition, as well as a most fascinating woman, speaking of this epistolary correspondence, says:—"There was a beautiful ingenuousness in his language, a warm and enthusiastic adoration expressed in every letter, which interested and charmed me."

An interview at length took place between Mrs. Robinson and her royal *lover*. As she has left an account of

this interesting meeting herself, written some years afterwards with unreserve and openness to a friend, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to find it here in her own words. It deserves attention in another point of view, as presenting us with a more faithful portrait of the manners and accomplishments of the Prince of Wales at this period of his life than is any where else to be met with.

"At length," says Mrs. Robinson, "an evening was fixed for this long dreaded interview. Lord Malden and myself dined at the inn on the island between Kew and Brentford. We waited the signal for crossing the river in a boat which had been engaged for that purpose. Heaven can witness how many conflicts my agitated heart endured at this most important moment! I admired the prince; I felt grateful for *his affection*. He was the

most engaging of created beings. I had corresponded with him during many months, and his eloquent letters, the exquisite sensibility which breathed through every line, his ardent professions of adoration had combined to shake my feeble resolution. The handkerchief was waved on the opposite shore; but the signal was by the dusk of the evening rendered almost imperceptible. Lord Malden took my hand, I stepped into the boat, and in a few minutes we landed before the iron gates of old Kew palace. The interview was but of a moment. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York (then Bishop of Osnaburg) were walking down the avenue. They hastened to meet us. A few words, and those scarcely articulate, were uttered by the prince, when a noise of people approaching from the palace *startled us*. The moon was now rising,

and the idea of being overheard, or of his royal highness been seen out at so unusual an hour, terrified the whole group. After a few more words of the most affectionate nature, uttered by the prince, we parted, and Lord Malden and myself returned to the island. The prince never quitted the avenue, nor the presence of the Duke of York, during the whole of this short meeting. Alas! my friend, if my mind was before influenced by esteem, it was now awakened to the most enthusiastic admiration. The rank of the prince no longer chilled into awe that being who now considered him as the lover and the friend. The graces of his person, the irresistible sweetness of his smile, the tenderness of his melodious yet manly voice, will be remembered by me till every vision of this changing scene shall be forgotten.

"*Many and frequent* were the

interviews which afterwards took place at this romantic spot; our walks sometimes continued till past midnight: the Duke of York and Lord Malden were always of the party, and our conversation was composed of general topics. The prince had from his infancy been wholly secluded, and naturally took much pleasure in conversing about the busy world, its manners and pursuits, characters and scenery. Nothing could be more delightful or more rational than our midnight perambulations. I always wore a dark coloured habit; the rest of our party generally wrapped themselves in great coats to disguise them, excepting the Duke of York, who almost universally alarmed us by the display of a *buff* coat, the most conspicuous colour he could have selected for an adventure of this nature. The polished and fascinating ingenuousness of his royal highness's man-

ners contributed not a little to enliven our *promenades.* He sung with exquisite taste; and the tones of his voice, breaking the silence of the night, have often appeared to my entranced senses like more than mortal melody. Often have I lamented the distance which destiny had placed between us: how my soul would have idolized such a *husband!* Alas! how often, in the ardent enthusiasm of my soul, have I formed the wish that being were *mine alone* to whom partial millions were to look up for protection.

"The Duke of York was now on the eve of quitting the country for Hanover, the prince was also on the point of receiving his first establishment; and the apprehension that his attachment to a married woman might injure his royal highness in the opinion of the world, rendered the caution which we invariably observed of the

utmost importance. A considerable time elapsed in these delightful scenes of visionary happiness. The prince's attachment seemed to increase daily, and I considered myself as the most blest of human beings. During some time we had enjoyed our meetings in the neighbourhood of Kew, and I now only looked forward to the adjusting of his royal highness's establishment for the public avowal of our mutual attachment."

Proceeding with her narrative, Mrs. Robinson informs us that the daily prints now indulged the malice of her enemies by the most scandalous paragraphs respecting the Prince of Wales and herself. "I now found it," says she, "too late to stop the hourly augmenting torrent of abuse that was poured upon me from all quarters. Whenever I appeared in public, I was *over*whelmed by the gazing of the

multitude. I was frequently obliged to quit Ranelagh, owing to the crowd which staring curiosity had assembled round my box; and, even in the streets of the metropolis, I scarcely ventured to enter a shop without experiencing the greatest inconvenience. Many hours have I waited till the crowd dispersed which surrounded my carriage, in expectation of my quitting the shop. I cannot suppress a smile at the absurdity of such proceeding, when I remember that, during nearly three seasons, I was almost every night upon the stage, and that I had then been near five years with Mr. Robinson at every fashionable place of entertainment. You, my dear Sir,* in your quiet haunts of transatlantic simplicity, will find some difficulty in reconciling

* This narrative is extracted from a letter addressed by the fair writer to a friend in America, sometime in the year 1783.

these things to your mind—these unaccountable instances of national absurdity. Yet so it is, I am well assured, that were a being, possessed of more than human endowments, to visit this country, it would experience indifference, if not total neglect, while a less worthy mortal might be worshipped as the idol of the day, if whispered into notoriety by the comments of the multitude. But, thank heaven! my heart was not formed in the mould of callous effrontery. I shuddered at the gulf before me, and felt small gratification in the knowledge of having taken a step, which many, who condemned, would have been no less willing to imitate, had they been placed in the same situation.

"Previous to my first interview with his royal highness, in one of his letters I was astonished to find a bond of the *most solemn* and binding nature, con-

taining a promise of the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be paid at the period of his royal highness's coming of age.

"This paper was signed by the prince, and sealed with the royal arms. It was expressed in terms so liberal, so voluntary, so marked by true affection, that I had scarcely power to read it. My tears, excited by the most agonizing conflicts, obscured the letters, and nearly blotted out those sentiments, which will be impressed upon my mind till the latest period of my existence. Still, I felt shocked and mortified at the indelicate idea of entering into any pecuniary engagements with a prince, on whose establishment I relied for the enjoyment of all that would render life desirable. I was surprised at receiving it; the idea of interest had never entered my mind: secure of the *possession* of his heart, I

had in that delightful certainty counted all my future treasure. I had refused many splendid gifts which his royal highness had proposed ordering for me at Grey's and other jewellers. The prince presented to me a few trifling ornaments, in the whole their value not exceeding one hundred guineas. Even these, on our separation, I returned to his royal highness through the hands of General Lake.

" The period now approached that was to destroy all the fairy visions which had filled my mind with dreams of happiness. At the moment when every thing was preparing for his royal highness's establishment, when I looked impatiently for the arrival of that day, in which I might behold my adored friend gracefully receiving the acclamations of his future subjects; when I might enjoy the public protection of that being for whom I gave up

all, I received a letter from his royal highness, a cold and unkind letter—briefly informing me, that—'*we must meet no more.*'

"And now, my friend, suffer me to call God to witness, that I was unconscious why this decision had taken place in his royal highness's mind. Only two days previous to this letter being written I had seen the prince at Kew, and his affection appeared to be boundless as it was undiminished.

"Amazed, afflicted, beyond the power of utterance, I wrote immediately to his royal highness, requiring an explanation. He remained silent. Again I wrote, but received no elucidation of this most cruel and extraordinary mystery. The prince was then at Windsor. I set out, in a small poney phæton, wretched, and unaccompanied by any one except my pos-

tillion (a child of nine years of age). It was dark when we quitted Hyde-Park Corner. On my arrival at Hounslow, the inn-keeper informed me, that every carriage which had passed the heath for the last ten nights had been attacked and rifled. I confess, the idea of personal danger had no terrors for my mind in the state it then was, and the probability of annihilation, divested of the crime of suicide, encouraged rather than diminished my determination of proceeding. We had scarcely reached the middle of the heath, when my horses were startled by the sudden appearance of a man rushing from the side of the road. The boy on perceiving him instantly spurred his poney, and, by a sudden bound of our light vehicle, the ruffian missed his grasp at the front rein. We now proceeded at full speed, while the footpad ran endeavouring to overtake us. At

length, my horses fortunately out-running the perseverance of the assailant, we reached the first Magpie, a small inn on the heath, in safety. The alarm which, in spite of my resolution, this adventure had created, was augmented on my recollecting, for the first time, that I had then in my black stock a brilliant stud, of very considerable value, which could only have been possessed by the robber by strangling the wearer.

" If my heart palpitated with joy at my escape from assassination, a circumstance soon after occurred that did not tend to quiet my emotions. This was the appearance of Mr. H. Meynel and Mrs. A******. My foreboding soul instantly beheld a rival, and, with jealous eagerness, interpreted the hitherto inexplicable conduct of the prince, from his having frequently

expressed his wish to know that lady.*

"On my arrival the prince would not see me. My agonies were now indescribable. I consulted with Lord Malden, and the Duke of Dorset, whose honourable mind and truly disinterested friendship for me had, on many occasions, been exemplified towards me. They were both at a loss to divine any cause of this sudden change in the prince's feelings. The Prince of Wales had hitherto assiduously sought opportunities to distinguish me more publicly than was prudent in his royal highness's situation. This was in the month of August: on the fourth of the preceding June, I went by his desire into the chamberlain's box at the birth-night ball; the distressing observation

* The person here alluded to was Mrs. Armsted, afterwards the wife of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.

of the circle was drawn towards the part of the box in which I sat by the marked and injudicious attentions of his royal highness. I had not been arrived many minutes before I witnessed a singular species of fashionable coquetry. Previous to his royal highness beginning his minuet, I perceived a woman of high rank select from the *bouquet* which she wore two rose-buds, which she gave to the prince, as he afterwards informed me, 'emblematical of herself and him.' I observed his royal highness immdiately beckon to a nobleman who has since formed a part of his establishment, and looking most earnestly at me, whispered a few words, at the same time presenting to him his newly acquired trophy. In a few moments Lord C. entered the chamberlain's box, and, giving the rose-buds into my hands, informed me that he *was commissioned* by the prince

to do so. I placed them in my bosom, and, I confess, felt proud of the power by which I thus publicly mortified an exalted rival. His royal highness now avowedly distinguished me at all public places of entertainment, at the king's hunt near Windsor, at the reviews, and at the theatres. The prince only seemed happy in evincing his affection towards me."

Of the causes which led to the alienation of the affections of the prince from his lovely and accomplished friend, she has not left in her narrative any clue to form a right judgment. "My good-natured friends," proceeds she, "now carefully informed me of the multitude of secret enemies who were employed in estranging the prince's mind from me. So fascinating, so illustrious a lover could not fail to excite the envy of my own sex. Women of all descriptions were emulous

of attracting his royal highness's attention. Alas! I had neither *rank* nor power to oppose such adversaries. Every engine of female malice was set in motion to destroy my repose, and every petty calumny was repeated with tenfold embellishments. Tales of the most infamous and glaring falsehood were invented, and I was again assailed by pamphlets, by paragraphs, and caricatures, and all the artillery of slander, while the only being to whom I then looked up for protection was so situated as to be unable to afford it.

"Thus perplexed, I wrote to you, my friend, and implored your advice. But you were far away; your delighted soul was absorbed in cherishing the plant of human liberty, which has since blossomed with independent splendour over your happy provinces. Eagerly did I wait for the arrival of the packet, but no answer was return-

ed. In the anguish of my soul, I once more addressed the Prince of Wales. I complained, perhaps too vehemently, of his injustice; of the calumnies which had been by my enemies fabricated against me, of the falsehood of which he was but too sensible. I conjured him to render me justice. He did so; he wrote me a most eloquent letter, disclaiming the causes alleged by a calumniating world, and fully acquitted me of the charges which had been propagated to destroy me."

After some weeks, passed in much wretchedness of mind, Mrs. Robinson had an interview with the Prince of Wales, which for a moment promised a renewal of their intercourse. As this interview was the last that took place between them with any view of reviving their connection, we shall give the account of it in Mrs. Robinson's *own* words. "After much hesitation,"

says she, " by the advice of Lord Malden, I consented to meet his royal highness. He accosted me with every appearance of tender attachment, declaring that he had never for one moment ceased to love me, but that I had many concealed enemies, who were exerting every effort to undermine me. We passed some hours in the most friendly and delightful conversation, and I began to flatter myself that all our differences were adjusted.—But what words can express my surprize and chagrin, when, on meeting his royal highness *the very next day* in Hyde-Park, he turned his head to avoid seeing me, and even affected *not to know me.*

" Overwhelmed by this blow, my distress knew no limits. Yet heaven can witness the truth of my assertion, even in this moment of complete despair, when oppression bowed me to

the earth, I blamed not the Prince. I did then, and ever shall, consider his mind as nobly and honourably organized; nor could I teach myself to believe, that a heart, the seat of so many virtues, could possibly become inhuman and unjust. I had been taught from my infancy to believe that elevated stations are surrounded by delusive visions, which glitter but to dazzle like an unsubstantial meteor, and flatter to betray."

We shall only remark upon this narrative that it bears on the face of it unquestionable marks of sincerity and genuineness. It is written with the freedom of friendship, and the language and sentiments are such a person of a sensible and well-cultivated mind, but of strong feelings, writing on such a topic to a confidential friend, would in all probability use. It has indeed scarcely anything of the

air of an apology. Mrs. Robinson candidly acknowledges that the manners, the accomplishments, the fascination of the heir apparent, completely seized upon her affections, and rendered her totally unable to resist his royal highness's advances. To this we may add, that to the latest period of her life her attachment for the Prince continued unabated. When on her death-bed, she requested that a lock of her hair might be presented to his royal highness, and this mark of her regard is said to have been received on the part of the Prince with strong demonstrations of sensibility.

The beautiful poem which was published in the Annual Register, and entitled by Mrs. Robinson "*Lines to him who will understand them,*" evidently seems to have been composed at no very distant period from the date of her separation from the Prince. As

these lines breathe a pensive spirit of tenderness, affection, and regret, which none but an amiable and accomplished object could have inspired, we shall offer no apology to our readers for presenting them with an extract from them in this place.

" Thou art no more my bosom friend;
Here must the sweet delusion end,
That charm'd my senses many a year,
Thro' smiling summers, winters drear.—
O, Friendship! am I doom'd to find
Thou art a phantom of the mind?
A glitt'ring shade, an empty name,
An air-born vision's vap'rish flame?
And yet, the dear deceit so long
Has wak'd to joy my matin song,
Has bid my tears forget to flow;
Chas'd every pain, sooth'd ev'ry woe;
That truth, unwelcome to my ear,
Swells the deep sigh, recalls the tear,
Gives to the sense the keenest smart,
Checks the warm pulses of the heart,
Darkens my fate, and steals away
Each gleam of joy through life's sad day.

Britain, farewel! * I quit thy shore:
My native country charms no more;
No guide to mark the toilsome road;
No destin'd clime; no fix'd abode:
Alone and sad; ordain'd to trace
The vast expanse of endless space;
To view, upon the mountain's height,
Thro' varied shades of glimm'ring light,
The distant landscape fade away
In the last gleam of parting day:—
Or, on the quiv'ring lucid stream,
To watch the pale moon's silv'ry beam;
Or when in sad and plaintive strains
The mournful Philomel complains,
In dulcet notes bewails her fate,
And murmurs for her absent mate;
Inspir'd by sympathy divine,
I'll weep her woes—for they are mine.
Driven by my fate, where'er I go,
O'er burning plains, o'er hills of snow,
Or on the bosom of the wave
The howling tempest doom'd to brave,—
Where'er my lonely course I bend,
Thy image shall my steps attend;

* Mrs. Robinson at this period was about to set out on a tour to the Continent, for the recovery of her health.

Each object I am doom'd to see
Shall bid remembrance picture thee.
Yes; I shall view thee in each flow'r
That changes with the transient hour:
Thy wand'ring fancy I shall find
Borne on the wings of ev'ry wind:
Thy wild impetuous passions trace
O'er the white waves' tempestuous space;
In every changing season prove
An emblem of thy wav'ring love.

CHAPTER III.

MESSAGE FROM HIS MAJESTY TO PARLIAMENT ON HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ATTAINING HIS MAJORITY—PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWO HOUSES ON THE OCCASION—REFLECTIONS ON THE TENDENCY OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S EDUCATION—INTRODUCTION INTO THE HOUSE OF PEERS—CHARACTER OF THE PRINCE'S FRIENDS—OF MR. FOX—OF MR. BURKE—MR. SHERIDAN—CHARACTER OF OTHER FRIENDS OF THE PRINCE—GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S LEADING ASSOCIATES.

On the 12th of August, 1783, his royal highness attained his majority, and that auspicious event was celebrated with suitable demonstrations of joy at court, in the city, and among the numerous tradesmen and retainers of the royal family. In the preceding month *of June,* Lord John Cavendish,

who then filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer, presented the following message from his majesty to the House of Commons.

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty, reflecting on the propriety of a separate establishment to his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales, recommends the consideration thereof to this house; relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons for such aid towards making that establishment as shall appear consistent with a due attention to the circumstances of his people, every addition to whose burthens his majesty feels with the most sensible concern.

"G. R."

On this message being taken into consideration it was determined that *his royal highness* should be allowed

the sum of 50,000*l.* a year, and that the sum of 60,000*l.* should be granted to him for the purpose of forming an establishment. The income of 50,000*l.* a year was so inferior to the sums granted to former princes of Wales, that its disproportion could not fail to strike very forcibly. George II. when Prince of Wales, had enjoyed an income of 100,000*l.* per annum, and the same allowance had been granted to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and to his present majesty during the short period that elapsed from his coming of age to his accession to the throne. It was argued, therefore, by those who wished to see a more liberal provision made for his royal highness, both on account of his illustrious rank, and of his various and shining virtues, that as his royal predecessors had enjoyed larger revenues at periods when the necessaries of life were much cheaper, it was

treating the prince with ill-judged and unmerited parsimony to place him in a worse situation than former princes of Wales had been placed in; and there were not wanting some who at this time actually prognosticated the inconvenience and embarrassments which at a future period would arise to his royal highness from the scantiness of his income. Among this number was Mr. Fox, who then filled the post of secretary of state for the foreign department. The vigorous and prophetic mind of that great statesman foresaw that habits of strict economy could not well be expected of so young a man as the Prince, and that the narrowness of his income, instead of ultimately being of any advantage to the nation, might throw him into a situation of embarrassment. Had it remained with him, Mr. Fox said, to have advised an establishment, he

would most assuredly have proposed a sum more adequate to the object in view. The person, however, the most proper to decide in the business, had been of an opinion very different, and it was his duty to submit.

It is now pretty generally known that the suggestion of confining his royal highness's income to a grant of 50,000*l.* a year, exclusive of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, which on an average amounted to 13,000*l.* a year, came from his majesty himself, who was unwilling, at the close of a disastrous and expensive war, when economy in every branch of the public expenditure was loudly called for by all ranks of his subjects, to increase the expences of the state by a larger establishment for the Prince of Wales. We have already hinted that the education of the Prince of Wales was conducted on a plan not

well calculated to give him all those advantages of instruction, which it was of so much importance the youthful mind of the heir apparent to the crown should be stored with. The great defect of the plan of the royal education seems to have been a want of attention to make the Prince acquainted with actual life. The monarchs who have governed their subjects most happily have been those who have formed their knowledge of human affairs, not from books or the lessons of their governors and preceptors, but from personal observation and experience.

What the preceptors of the Prince of Wales were answerable for was well performed. On attaining the years of majority the Prince of Wales was unquestionably the most accomplished young prince in Europe. His knowledge of the ancient languages was correct and extensive, and of the mo-

dern dialects he could converse with ease and fluency in French, German, and Italian. His attainments as a polite scholar are so universally admitted, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here farther than to observe that the best English writers, particularly the poets, are familiar to his royal highness, and that on all subjects relating to belles lettres there are few critics who possess a purer taste or more refined judgment.

In those accomplishments which may be deemed rather elegant than necessary, his royal highness had made a proficiency equally striking. He had cultivated the science of music with success, and, considered with that indulgence which is always due towards an amateur, excelled both as a vocal and as an instrumental performer. His taste in the fine arts has been fully exemplified by the elegant style in

which he has decorated his residences of Carleton-house and the Pavilion, and the interest he takes in their prosperity may be judged from the munificence with which his artists have ever been rewarded. The present reign has been thought peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of the fine arts in England, and we will venture to prognosticate they will experience no diminution of the royal patronage, whenever the fourth prince of the house of Brunswick shall, in the course of nature, be called to the throne of his ancestors.

The period when a young man of illustrious rank and splendid fortune attains his majority, forms an important epoch in his life. Our young nobility, educated for the most part at public schools and at the universities, when they come of age, have generally acquired a tolerable share of expe-

rience in the world. Their companions are usually those with whom they associated at school or at college, and previous habits of thinking and acting for themselves, which our public seminaries are so admirably calculated to teach, fit them to enter the great world.

With the Prince of Wales the case was otherwise. He had been educated indeed under the ablest masters, and his progress in all the useful and many of the ornamental branches of learning reflected equal honour on the diligence of the teachers and the capacity of the pupil; but, as we have before observed, a knowledge of real life formed no part of the system of his royal highness's education, and he made his entrance into public life under the disadvantage of having passed his youth in a state of seclusion and restraint.

We have already said that the king superintended the education of the heir apparent in person; we shall now proceed to mention an anecdote which will serve to give some idea of the restrictions that were imposed on the Prince to prevent him from mingling with society. About a twelvemonth before his royal highness attained his legal majority, he received the invitations of some of the most distinguished nobility to make a tour through the country during the summer months, when their respective residences should be prepared for the reception of their illustrious guest. This proposal, as may be conceived, was eagerly accepted by the young prince, and preparations were actually made for his journey; but when the consent of his father was asked, the king refused to permit the design to be carried into execution. A system of restraint, car-

ried thus far, could not fail to have a material influence on the conduct of his royal highness, on his first introduction to public life.

At the opening of parliament on the 11th of November, 1783, his royal highness was introduced into the House of Peers, on which occasion the following ceremonial was observed.

"His royal highness having been, by letters-patent, dated the 19th day of August, in the second year of his majesty's reign, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, was, in his robes, which with the collar and order of the garter he had put on in the earl marshal's room, introduced into the House of Peers in the following order.

Gentleman usher of the black rod, with his staff of office.

Earl of Surry,

Deputy Earl Marshal of England.

Lord Privy Seal.

Garter Principal King of Arms, in his Robe, with the Sceptre, bearing his Royal Highness's Patent.

Sir Peter Burrel,
Deputy Great Chamberlain of England.

Viscount Stormont,
Lord President of the Council.

The Coronet,
On a crimson velvet cushion, borne by Viscount Lewisham, one of the gentlemen of his Royal Highness's Bedchamber.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales,
Carrying his Writ of Summons, supported by his Uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and the Dukes of Richmond and Portland.

" And proceeding up the house with the usual reverences, the writ and patent were delivered to the Earl of Mansfield, speaker, on the woolsack, and read by the clerk of the parliament at the table, his royal highness and the rest of the procession standing near: after which his royal highness was conducted to his chair on the

right hand of the throne, the coronet and cushion having been laid on a stool before the chair, and his royal highness being covered as usual, the ceremony ended.

"Some time after his majesty entered the House of Peers, and was seated on the throne with the usual solemnities, and having delivered his most gracious speech, retired out of the house.

"Then his royal highness at the table took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration; and also took and subscribed the oath of abjuration."

The session in which the Prince of Wales now took his seat in the great council of the nation, was one of the most important that had occurred since his majesty's accession to the throne, though at this period its importance

is lost in the magnitude of succeeding events. The coalition ministry, with the Duke of Portland at its head, but Mr. Fox the efficient minister, was then at the zenith of its power, and menaced the royal authority with some restrictions of prerogatives, which are supposed to have given high offence of the interior cabinet of Buckingham-house. We allude to the celebrated India bill of Mr. Fox, which was introduced in this session, and caused the dismission of the coalition administration.

In the discussions which took place in the upper house of parliament relative to the India bill, the Prince of Wales observed a dignified neutrality; but it was generally understood that the whig party, with Mr. Fox at their head, possessed his good wishes. Being now launched into public life, some

judgment may be formed of what were his political principles from the circle with whom he associated.

At the head of the Prince of Wales's political friends was Mr. Fox, a man equally calculated to delight in private and to command in public life. Between this illustrious statesman and the Prince of Wales, an intimacy commenced at this period, and was followed by a sincere attachment, which continued, on the part of the Prince, without any abatement to the death of Mr. Fox. That great man, then in the prime of life, though not of his glory, stood on a commanding eminence, and the eyes not only of his own nation, but of all the courts of Europe, were turned upon him, as the man above all others in the British dominions best qualified to be at the head of the government. But his bold independent spirit, the firmness with which he re-

sisted the encroachments of the crown, and, above all, his sincere and unalterable attachment to the privileges of the people, were insurmountable objections to his reception at court. The king, educated in high tory maxims, was averse to his principles, and dreaded his spirit: the favourites of the court were naturally disgusted with his integrity, and shrunk beneath his superior talents. In the parliamentary conduct of the man there was nothing to censure, and as a minister he had shewn himself incapable of being influenced by the seductions of office, or tempted by the love of power to continue in place when the dictates of conscience and honour told him that he ought to resign.

In the public life of this illustrious man, there was nothing that the most implacable of his enemies could fix *upon, that* rendered him unfit to oc-

cupy the first place in the confidence of the heir apparent to the crown, and therefore, in order to justify the obloquy which was cast upon the Prince of Wales for this attachment, it was necessary that the private character of Mr. Fox should undergo an examination; and the amusements and follies of his lighter hours were made to pass in a severe and malignant review before the public judgment. That Mr. Fox entered largely into the follies and extravagancies of his age, no man will for a moment be so absurd as to deny, but that his soul was capable of any thing dishonourable, mean, base, cruel, or treacherous, the basest of his calumniators have not had the audacity to assert. No being perhaps ever existed so little capable of acting with injustice towards another as Mr. Fox. Of his splendid, we may say indeed his *matchless* talents, it is un-

necessary for us to speak, neither shall we indulge ourselves in any eulogium on that unconquerable love of freedom which, under the most adverse circumstances, and seducing temptations to desert its banners, he uniformly maintained, and which was characteristic of his heart at every period of his glorious career. Mr. Fox, in his gayer moments, was guilty unquestionably of many of the levities and indiscretions which young men of fashion and fortune are subject to, and like other men in similar circumstances, and of similar pursuits, he not unfrequently experienced great vicissitudes of fortune, but that ever he was concerned in any transaction which could bear the slightest imputation of dishonour, may be most confidently denied.

Could a character of Mr. Fox be drawn, abstracted from all considera*tion of the* political scenes in which he

was engaged, he might well be described as having possessed a soul as full of honour as ever inhabited a mortal tenement, for take the word honour in whatever acceptance it can be applied, it will, from the narrowest scrutiny that can possibly be gone into Mr. Fox's life, be found, that he never, even in the remotest degree, violated the strictest laws of honour. But this, though certainly a shining trait of his character, formed but a small part of the merits of this eminent person. If we take into our consideration the mildness of his nature, the simplicity of his manners, and that tenderness of heart which made him a partner in human sufferings of every kind, and rendered the words of Terence,

Homo sum, nil humanum alienum a me puto,

in his *mouth, not* a hacknied quota-

tion, but a just picture of himself, a description of his peculiar temperament of mind which no one could deny the force and authenticity of, then we should find it difficult, if not impossible, among the greatest characters, either of ancient or of modern times, to find one in any degree comparable with him whom the free and unbought suffrages of his countrymen dignified with the title of the MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

The person, who at this period has been supposed to have held the second place in the friendship of the Prince of Wales, as a political man, was Mr. Burke (*clarum et venerable nomen*). Of the character of this great orator we are not to judge from the maxims of his later years, but from the principles he asserted up to the period when he was distinguished by the *friendship* of his royal highness.

Brought into public notice by the munificence of the Marquis of Rockingham, and attached to the whig party both by sentiment and gratitude, the splendour of his eloquence and his various literary attainments had raised him to a high rank both in the literary and political world. The conduct of Mr. Burke in his declining years cast a shade over his character, but we are disposed rather to view this luminary as he shone in the political hemisphere at the meridian of his glory, than in his declension, when the clouds of evening and the lowering tempests of night, obscured and deformed his setting rays.

Mr. Burke was on many accounts one of the most remarkable men of his times. He was what few of our modern statesmen have been, the architect of his own preferment, without ever having had any occasion to blush for the means which brought him forward

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to public notice. Born with a vast and comprehensive genius, which he cultivated with the most assiduous industry, he rose to eminence by his own talents, and the patronage that was conferred on him reflected as much honour on the discernment of his patron, as his own abilities reflected credit on himself. It is not easy to pronounce the eulogy of such a man. Not because we find it difficult to separate those parts of his public conduct which we disapprove from those which we admire, and indeed we may say, as proceeding from such a mind as Mr. Burke's, which we reverence, but because so many great qualities were united in Mr. Burke's composition, that it is next to impossible to give a rough sketch of combined effect of the whole.

Looking at him merely as a public man, and as one of the most distinguished leaders in the House of Com-

mons, we can affirm of him without the least fear of contradiction, that the universality of his knowledge and erudition, the powers of his imagination, the rapidity of his eloquence, the perfection of his language, and the various objects to which these endowments were applied, all conspired to make him one of the most prominent and conspicuous characters of his time. It may, perhaps, be considered by some as a misfortune to the world, that the extraordinary genius of this man, whose private studies might have so greatly delighted and instructed it, should have been thrown into the tumult of public life, and absorbed in the vortex of politics. But let us look at the various and astonishing qualities of his oratorical powers, before we too rashly lament or condemn the destiny which conducted Mr. Burke to the *triumphs* of the senate-house.

Mr. Burke's argumentative powers were of the highest order, his sources of knowledge were universal and inexhaustible, his memory was comprehensive and faithful, while his mind teemed with the most luxuriant imagery, clothed in the most elegant language, and strengthened by the most applicable and brilliant expressions. It has been admitted even by those who have most rigidly examined his pretensions to fame, that the splendour of his eloquence has seldom been excelled by the most accomplished orators, or even poets, of any age or country. From the depths of science, from the labours of art, the long track of history, the flights of poety, "the passing moment," as well as that which is gone for ever, he collected, or, rather, commanded, the most apt, varied, and beautiful imagery, to support and *decorate his* elocution: and such was

the extent of his power, and the facility with which he could muster up his forces, that in the very tumult of his eloquence, they presented themselves to his mind to aid, to strengthen, and to carry the cause he supported. The harmony of his periods, and the accuracy of his expressions, even in his most unpremeditated speeches were among the least of the oratorical distinctions of this wonderful man. In the most rapid of his flights, when the torrent of his eloquence could scarce keep pace with his thoughts, and the hearer with difficulty attend him in his course, he never failed to seize the most choice and felicitous expressions that are to be found in the treasury of language. His mind was an emporium of knowledge, and the communication of his stores was elegant, graceful, and attractive. In the House of Commons his details were interesting, important,

and correct, his arguments forcible, replete with information, and never supported by designed misrepresentation to answer the purposes of debate. His knowledge of parliamentary business was so vast and multifarious that every matter brought into discussion, whether politics, jurisprudence, finances, commerce, manufactures, or internal police, with all their divisions, sub-divisions, and ramifications, was treated by him in such a manner as to induce those who heard him to imagine, that he had dedicated his life to the investigation of that particular subject.—To conclude our brief sketch of this extraordinary man, it would be injustice to pass over his occasional displays of the most pure morals, or to omit the acknowledgment that his speeches seldom failed to possess a strong tincture of the most amiable philosophy.

The other great character whom the

Prince of Wales honoured with his particular confidence, and who by the unanimous voice of his fellow citizens was ranked almost on a level with Burke and Fox was Mr. Sheridan. Confessedly the first dramatic writer of his age, he was qualified by his talents no less to shine in the senate house than to delight in the closet or on the stage. A writer of great eminence (Dr. Parr) in sketching the character of Mr. Sheridan has said: "The golden tide of eloquence which Burke pours forth; the urbanity, the easy and unstudied elegance of North; the subtlety, the vigor, the variety of Fox, all these are conspicuously united in Sheridan.

"In the late public cause instituted against a certain governor (Hastings) how extensive were his claims to favour and to fame! With what energy of voice and *spirit* did he attach the at-

tention of his hearers of all ranks, ages, and parties! In how wonderful a manner did he communicate delight, and incline the most reluctant spirits to his purpose!

"To the discussion of this cause he came admirably prepared—all was anxious expectation and attention. From the very beginning he appeared to justify impatience. That subject, so various, complicated and abstruse, he comprehended with precision, and explained with systematic acuteness. He placed every argument in that particular point, where it had the greatest energy and effect.—Throughout a very long speech he was careful to use no imprudent expression, but was manifestly and uniformly consistent with himself. His style was dexterously adapted to the contingence of the occasion:—in one part he was copious and *splendid*; in another more concise and

pointed; and gave additional polish to truth. As he found it necessary, he instructed, delighted, or agitated his hearers. He appeared to have no other object in view but that of giving the fairest termination to the business; to prove the guilt of the accused by the most indisputable evidence, and to confirm the object of investigation by strong and decisive reasoning. Then first did that Scot,* audacious as he is, tremble with alarm, and altogether forget his usual loquacity. But the minister rendered Sheridan the tribute of his suffrage, either because he felt the irresistible impression of his eloquence or chose to embrace this as the fairest opportunity of atoning for his former most reproachful conduct.

" At that time Sheridan discovered

* Major Scot, the great friend of Mr. Hastings.

a spirit of wit and humour, not mean and vulgar, but consistent with the purest eloquence. His oratory was often rapid and diffused, but in no instance crowded or redundant; it was, as contingence required, vehement, indignant, and expressive of the justest sorrow: its impression, its splendour, its copiousness, and variety were in all respects responsible to the greatness and dignity of the occasion.

"With how great delight he was heard by an attentive senate is universally known. His most determined adversaries were compelled to render tribute to his excellence. A large portion was added not merely to his ingenious and honourable popularity but to his solid and unfading glory. Posterity will again and again, with renewed delight and wonder, peruse that composition; and with heartfelt

animation will often apply to him the words of Æschines, 'Oh that we had heard him!"

The speech to which the learned and classical editor of Bellendenus here alludes was that which Mr. Sheridan made on the summing up of the *Begum* charge. It was commenced before the lords on the 3d of June, 1788, and continued four different days, with a vigour of genius which seemed to derive increasing energy from unabated exertion. After Mr. Sheridan's pause on the second day, when the high court of parliament had adjourned from Westminster hall, and the commons were assembled in their own chamber, the debate which ensued afforded Mr. Burke an opportunity of displaying his own abilities in the praise of his honourable friend. Mr. Burke's description of the character of Mr. Sheridan's eloquence is so animated, stri-

king, and just, that we feel no hesitation in extracting for the benefit of our readers.

"He has this day," said Mr. Burke, "surprised the thousands who hung with rapture on his accents by such an array of talents, such an exhibition of capacity, such a display of powers as are unparalleled in the annals of oratory; a display that reflected the highest honour upon himself—lustre upon letters—renown upon parliament—glory upon the country. Of all species of rhetoric, of every kind of eloquence that has been witnessed or recorded, either in ancient or modern times; whether the acuteness of the bar, the dignity of the senate, the solidity of the judgment-seat, and the sacred morality of the pulpit have hitherto furnished, nothing has equalled what we have this day heard in *Westminster*-hall. No holy seer of

religion, no sage, no statesman, no orator, no man of any literary description whatever has come up, in the one instance, to the pure sentiments of morality, or, in the other, to that variety of knowledge, force of imagination, propriety and vivacity of allusion, beauty and elegance of diction, strength and copiousness of style, pathos and sublimity of conception, to which we have this day listened with ardour and admiration. From poetry up to eloquence there is not a species of composition of which a complete and perfect specimen might not from that single speech be culled and collected."

We shall not weaken these just tributes of admiration and applause to the talents of Mr. Sheridan, by two of his most celebrated contemporaries, the one an orator gifted with the highest powers of eloquence, the other a

man profound versed in every branch, both of scholastic and elegant learning, by any observations of our own.

Besides these three great men, who were honoured in a particular degree with the personal favour of the Prince of Wales, his royal highness assiduously attached to him every other character of distinction whose intercourse could strengthen, or enrich, or polish his mind. Among the more intimate of his friends were Lord Rawdon (since Earl of Moira), a nobleman with whose name honour and humanity are associated as synonimous terms: the late Lord Hugh Seymour, whose orphan daughter's name is familiar to the public on account of the marked protection which his royal highness affords her, and Rear-Admiral Payne, a man of the most polished manners and lively wit, who for many years held a *situation in* the Prince's household, are

likewise to be numbered among the more chosen of his associates.

Among the nobility who were more particularly honoured with his countenance were the dukes of Norfolk, Bedford, Devonshire, Portland, and Northumberland; the earls of Derby, Cholmondeley, and Fitzwilliam; and lords St. John, Ponsonby, Craven, and Southampton. Among the commoners of distinction were Mr. (since Lord) Erskine, who on the formation of his royal highness's establishment was appointed to the post of attorney-general to the Prince, and Messrs. Burgoyne, Coke, Crewe, Fitzpatrick, Francis, Grey, Honeywood, Knight, Lambton, Newnham, Plumer, Pigot, Taylor, Windham, and many more equally respectable in their principles and fortune.

A work which we shall not so far honour as to name, which, under a

ridiculous title, professes to give memoirs of the heir apparent, enumerating the friends by whom his royal highness was surrounded at this period of his life, has, by every sort of distortion and malignity, endeavoured to impress the public with unfavourable sentiments of the Prince's friends. Ridiculous nicknames or stupid allusions to professional pursuits furnish this wretched scribbler with his epithets, while no ten times repeated calumny, ten times applied to as many different persons is too gross for his taste, no foul and self-refuted scandal is unacceptable to his nauseous, adulterous imagination.

It is the character of devils to hate the virtues which they cannot imitate. Who were the friends whom the Prince of Wales gathered round him on attaining the years of manhood, but *the very men* whom the hopes and the

wishes of the nation pointed out as fit associates for the heir apparent of the crown? Was it of Jenkinson, of Pitt, or of Dundas that he was likeliest to recieve pure lessons on the genius and spirit of the English constitution? Were these the fittest luminaries of the House of Commons to teach a young prince how to value the rights of the people? Were these the paragons of virtue, independence, integrity, and public spirit to whom Burke, and Fox, and Sheridan ought to have given way? Common sense laughs at the mere suggestion; but the indignation of honest virtue is roused at seeing such creatures as these, the tools of the basest intrigues, and the meanest sycophants of power, put for a moment in competition with such men as a Burke, a Fox, or a Sheridan.

Where among the descendants of the ancient nobility of England could

the Prince of Wales have chosen associates more worthy of his rank and of the principles which seated the Brunswick family on the throne than among the Howards, the Russels, the Cavendishes, the Percies, the Stanleys, the Wentworths, and the Keppels of the age? Or where, among the commons of the land, where was he to look for more virtue, patriotism, or public spirit than in that firm and united band of whigs, whose persevering efforts put an end to the disastrous war with America? Was it from among place-men or place-hunters, jobbers and contractors, East and West India plunderers, and the offals and scummings of office that the prince was to draw his associates, and from the exhibition of their virtues to model his conduct? Yet this is what we must believe, if those writers are to be credited who have represented *the Prince* as surrounded by none but

men immoral in their lives, destitute of abilities, profligate in their principles, and, in a word, needy adventurers, of such insatiable rapacity, that they would wade to power through the dirtiest paths of political turpitude and corruption.

Oh, hallowed names of Burke and Fox! oh transcendent genius of Sheridan! are ye the men who have reflected so much lustre on your country, that needy and impotent scribblers thus seek to vilify! Oh! degradation of that sacred and perennial stream of light and freedom, the British press, that pens so unworthy and malignant should be found, to blacken the fair honours of the noble Howard, of the illustrious descendants of the virtuous Lord William Russel, of the generous lines of Cavendish, Stanley, Fitzwilliam, and the other noble associates whom the Prince has gathered round his stand-

ard! Oh degenerate times, that living worth like that of Coke, of Windham, of Francis, of Erskine, should be no security to its possessors against the malice of libellers and pamphleteers!

If we were to be asked who were the Prince of Wales's most favoured associates, we should reply, all the most opulent, virtuous, and independent, among the dignified nobility of the land. Among the commons those who had distinguished themselves most for their talents, patriotism, and incorruptible public spirit. Such were the friends of his youth, and such are the chosen companions by whom now, in his maturer years, he is surrounded.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES WITH MRS. FITZHERBERT—REPORT OF A CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE—REFUTATION OF THE CALUMNIES THAT HAVE BEEN PROPAGATED ON THIS SUBJECT—FIRST APPLICATION OF THE PRINCE FOR THE PAYMENT OF HIS DEBTS—REFUSAL ON THE PART OF HIS MAJESTY—SPIRITED LINE OF CONDUCT ADOPTED BY THE PRINCE ON THE OCCASION—REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF PARTIES AT THIS PERIOD—POLITICAL PAMPHLETS—VINDICATION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—DISPUTES BETWEEN GEORGE I. AND HIS SUCCESSOR—AND BETWEEN GEORGE II. AND FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES.

To quit this subject, which perhaps may be considered by some as a digression, we shall now proceed to give some account of a transaction, which at the time it happened gave rise to much obloquy, and was the occasion, it

has been supposed, of causing a considerable coolness between the Prince and his royal father. The transaction to which we allude is the friendship which the Prince of Wales contracted with Mrs. Fitzherbert some time after the rupture of his intercourse with Mrs. Robinson.

In the beginning of the year 1786, this new intercourse formed a topic of general discourse. Mrs. Fitzherbert, from the best information we have been able to obtain, was a widow lady, of great accomplishments and beauty, some years older than his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Her family was respectable; she was niece on her father's side to Sir Edward Smythe, of Acton Burnel, in the county of Salop, and distantly related to the noble family of Sefton, in the kingdom of Ireland. Her sister was married to Sir Carnaby

Haggerstone, a baronet of considerable respectability and fortune in the county of York.

When this connection was first publicly made known, a rumour was circulated, and through popular credulity obtained a much larger share of credit than it really deserved, that the Prince of Wales was privately married to Mrs. Fitzherbert. No one, at all acquainted with the genius of the British people, need be told, that the more improbable any story is, the more greedily they listen to and devour it. Hence the facility with which impostors succeed in their devices, devices often so palpable that one cannot help wondering how any man with his eyes open could possibly be deceived by them.

That the heir apparent of the crown, or any other prince of the blood royal,

should not be privately married, was an event particularly guarded against by a celebrated act of parliament, passed soon after the commencement of the present reign, and commonly called the Royal Marriage Act. By this act of parliament it was declared, that the descendants of George II. except the offspring of such of the princesses as were married to, or might marry, foreign princes, were incapable of marrying till the age of five and twenty years, without his majesty's consent previously obtained, or, after the age of five and twenty, in the event of his majesty's refusal, without the consent of both houses of parliament. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Mrs. Fitzherbert, therefore, if it had even taken place in point of form, was null and void in point of law. The children, if any had been born of this

marriage, were illegitimate, and incapable of inheritance.

But this was by no means the circumstance in this delicate affair, which made the most considerable impression on the public mind. What excited the greatest sensation was, that Mrs. Fitzherbert was educated in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion. She might have retracted those principles, it was said; but was that retraction, it was rejoined, even supposing it had been made, worthy to be believed? There were not wanting those who believed, or were willing to have it thought so, that the marriage ceremony had been actually solemnized; and a pamphlet was written by a man of no slight vigour and subtlety of parts (Mr. John Horne Took) to shew, that the royal marriage act itself was a nullity, and consequently, that Mrs. Fitzherbert was absolutely mar-

ried to the Prince of Wales, she became *ipso facto* Princess of Wales, by which style she was addressed throughout his performance.

The act of settlement, by which the house of Brunswick was called to the British throne, expressly declared a prince, who married a Catholic, incapable of inheriting the throne. But this provision it might be urged was made at a time when we had just reason to apprehend danger from the intrigues of the Catholics against the established religion of the country; but now that those intrigues were no longer to be feared the provision was of course to be regarded as obsolete.

It is scarcely, however, to be credited, how deep an impression was made by this supposed marriage on the minds of many well-meaning individuals. They saw in their prospects

into futurity every reason to expect the horrors of a civil war; and in their zeal for our civil and religious liberties some of them were ready, in case of the demise of the sovereign, to have taken up arms against his natural successor, by way of antidote and precaution.

Among this number more particularly was Lord George Gordon,* then

* Lord George Gordon on his trial commented with great freedom on the connection supposed to have taken place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales. On being interrogated what particular motive he had for wishing to have the benefit of that lady's testimony, he replied, that he had conversation with Mrs. Fitzherbert in Paris, relative to some intrigues of the French and British courts, which he wished that lady to substantiate. Previous to his trial, his lordship called at Mrs. Fitzherbert's house in order to serve a subpœna upon her, but was turned out of doors by her servants. The newspapers of the day, adverting to this circumstance, observed, "that Lord George Gordon caused a letter to be delivered to Mr. Pitt, before he went to the house, acquainting him, that he had received a visit from Mr. Walter Smyth, brother to Mrs. Fitzherbert, accompanied by

under prosecution in the court of king's bench, for a libel on the Queen of France and Count d'Adhemar, ambassador from the court of Versailles. His fanaticism, which in the year 1780 had burnt with such memorable and destructive zeal against the Catholics, now took fresh alarm, and, on the rumour of a marriage between a Catholic lady and the heir apparent, pro-

Mr. Aston, threatening to call him to an account if he went to Mrs. Fitzherbert's again, or took liberties with her name; to this he made answer, that he must still apply to Mrs. Fitzherbert, to himself, or to Sir Carnaby Haggerstone, till a written answer was sent concerning the just title of their sister, just as if he had not called upon him." He concludes, "I think it my duty to inform you, as prime minister, with this circumstance, that you may be apprised of, and communicate to the House of Commons, the overbearing disposition of the papists.

"I have the honour to be,
"G. GORDON."

Mr. Smyth and Mr. Aston were afterwards brought into the King's Bench, and obliged to enter into securities to keep the peace towards *Lord George* Gordon.

bably would have flamed out into fresh excesses, equally pernicious and dangerous as his former ones, had the spirit of the times been the same. But the dreadful riots of 1780, in which he bore so conspicuous a part, and which were then fresh in every one's recollection, were too recent for the populace to be propelled by a similar cause to similar acts of violence; and Lord George Gordon had lost much of his favour as a popular demagogue, by certain eccentricities in his behaviour, though he had not then embraced the Mosaic ritual, which nearly altogether alienated the attachment of his former adherents. But, notwithstanding the disadvantages which this once popular and formidable leader now laboured under, it is certain that the notice he took of the connection between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert caused that affair to be more particu-

larly discussed than it would otherwise have been.

The year 1786 was farther distinguished by a circumstance in the history of the illustrious subject of these memoirs, not less extraordinary than that which we have just had occasion to mention, and which reflected much honour on his character and principles. Possessing a narrower income than former Princes of Wales, and certainly not exempt from the carelessness and extravagance of youth, his royal highness was found at this period to have contracted a debt to the amount of between two and three hundred thousand pounds. In this situation he did not act in the manner, which custom has in some measure authorized in royal personage; he did not imitate the conduct which has frequently been adopted by persons much less *elevated in* their situations, and look

with indifference on the inconveniences and distresses that might fall upon his creditors: he felt like a man of virtue and honour. Having waited for a considerable time in the hope of some favourable change in his situation, he is reported to have applied to his royal father for assistance; observing at the same time, that, if any part of his conduct were thought improper, he would alter it, and conform to the wishes of his majesty, in every thing that became him as a gentleman. The king, on receiving this dutiful communication, desired that a statemen of the Prince's affairs might be laid before him. This was accordingly done, and on the 4th of July the king's answer, which was a direct refusal to interfere, was conveyed to Lord Southampton, groom of the stole to his royal highness.

The Prince, with a promptitude

that did honour to his spirit as a man, took only one day to deliberate upon the conduct he should hold in this emergency. He then resolved, in justice to his creditors, to suppress the establishment of his household, to abridge himself of every superfluous expence, and to set apart a large annual sum, which was rumoured to be of the amount of 40,000*l.* for the liquidation of his debts. Nothing could be more noble, generous, and high-spirited than the whole of this proceeding.

But the Prince of Wales's notions of equity were far from stopping here. His royal highness had hitherto indulged in a passion, frequent among persons of high rank, that of training running horses for Newmarket, and other places of public contention of the same kind. But in this emergency, he scrupled not a moment to give up a fa-

vourite and an innocent relaxation, the more speedily to satisfy the claims of his creditors. Accordingly his racing stud, which had been formed with great judgment and expence, and was looked upon as one of the most complete in the kingdom, his hunters, and even his coach horses, were sold by public auction, and produced to the amount of seven thousand guineas. At the same time the buildings and interior decorations of Carlton-house were stopped, and some of the most considerable rooms shut up from use. The number of his attendants was also diminished; but with that thoughtfulness and kind consideration which always distinguish a truly generous mind, care was taken to settle pensions on those who would have otherwise been reduced to distress on quitting the Prince's service. This trait in the character of his royal highness is

would have been unpardonable not to have noticed, and we may add to it, that as he is a kind, provident, and indulgent master, so no prince was ever more cordially and zealously beloved by his servants. In this shipwreck (if we may be allowed the term) of his fortunes, many of them made him a voluntary offer of their services, free from every expence; and it was not without tears of reluctance, soothed with the promise of being taken into his service again, whenever his circumstances would admit of the re-establishment of his household, that these humble, but faithful retainers were prevailed on to quit the palace of their much loved prince.

With this magnanimity of feeling did the Prince of Wales think proper to retire from the splendour which belonged to his high station, rather *than forfeit* that character of honour

and integrity, which undoubtedly every man ought to consider himself as pledging to his creditors, and which, above all others, should be sacred in the eyes of a prince.

But the conduct of the Prince of Wales, on this interesting occasion, far from receiving that just tribute of public approbation which it was so well entitled to from the nobleminded-ness of its motive, became a subject of various animadversion. In itself undoubtedly, and taken abstractedly from any circumstance that had agitated the public mind relative to this illustrious personage previous, like that to which we have before alluded, it was entitled to the highest commendation. But it is equally certain, that it did not obtain from the nation in general that full and unequivocal approbation which it so justly deserved.

An anonymous, but candid and sensible political writer, speaking of this transaction, with equal truth and acuteness, observes, that the temper of the present age is a subject of curious speculation. It cannot be pretended, that we are entire strangers to dissipation and profligacy; but there is a prevailing humour, that renders us severe, almost cynical, upon the subject of virtue. In the great contest between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, in the close of the parliament which was dissolved in 1784, undoubtedly there was many considerations, that co-operated with each other for the purpose of giving so entire a victory to the former. But of all these motives, perhaps the most cogent was that which was derived from the sobriety and purity of Mr. Pitt's conduct, and from the known disposition and propensity to gaming of Mr. Fox. It is

equally true, though not perhaps equally obvious, that nothing has tended to carry the present sovereign in safety through all the storms and calamities of his reign more than his perfect freedom from every irregular and vicious pursuit. The contrast in this respect between the prince upon the throne, and the heir apparent successor, was by no means favourable to the latter. There was scarcely any deviation, in which the Prince did not occasionally indulge, and it cannot be denied, that the world spoke in language of strong censure of the choice made by him of his most intimate companions. All these considerations were tenfold strengthened by the affair of the supposed marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. His admirers compared him with our favourite Henry V. and asserted that his present dissipation was only the ebullition and the first vio-

lence of great and noble qualities. But to this it was replied, that the matter in question cut off all hopes. In this instance he had proved, that the wildness and inconsideration of his nature were rooted, and that he had no better and more worthy principles at bottom to check his excesses. To the gratification of a youthful inclination, he had sacrificed the dignity of his character, and the happiness of his country.

Not to detain our readers with any long comments on the observations of this spirited writer, it is just necessary to observe, that his language towards the Prince, though far from that of forbearance or vindication, falls infinitely short in severity of reproof of the terms of reproach and condemnation with which the press at this period teemed against him. It seemed as if the mercenary scribblers of the

metropolis had entered into a regular conspiracy to vilify and degrade the Prince of Wales, and scarcely any writer had the courage, or rather the hardihood, to brandish a pen in his defence. It is not to be supposed that the ministers of the day gave encouragement to their vile and unprincipled machinations, but this much is certain, that the efforts made to check them were languid and inefficient, and it was notorious that those who inveighed most bitterly against the prince, were the writers who most zealously supported Mr. Pitt's administration. Mr. Pitt's accession to power had been represented by the great leaders of the whig party, truly as it was, as an underhand and unconstitutional transaction: by the minister and his friends it was pretended that it was necessary to rescue the crown from a dangerous combination, and as there was some-

thing plausible in this representation of the case, all those who thought that the constitution could not be preserved without a just equilibrium was maintained among the three estates of the realm, sided with the minister and his friends, as the only way of securing to the crown that degree of authority and influence which they thought it ought to possess, but which was threatened by a combination of powerful leaders in the House of Commons. Considered as a mere theoretical question, it is undoubtedly desirable that the three estates of the kingdom should be perfectly independent of each other; that is, that the king should not dictate either to the lords or commons, nor that either of the branches of the legislature should dictate to the throne. But as cases may, and, as is too well known, do arise, where the crown and *the* commons differ in opinion, it then

becomes a serious question which party ought to give way. If the commons fairly, fully, and freely represented the people, then no question whatever could arise upon the subject, because the monarch must of necessity yield obedience to the wishes of his people; it would not be endured for a moment that the general will should be rendered nugatory by the obstinacy or perverseness of a single individual: but as the British constitution, whatever it may be in theory, certainly is not in practice so perfectly constituted that the commons of the land can be said to be adequately represented, and the influence of the crown in elections is known to be almost predominant, it certainly appears somewhat strange, and a sort of dereliction of their own interests in the people, that that house of commons, which stood up most strenuously in opposition to the crown,

and vindicated the undoubted right of the representatives of the people, to put a negative upon the appointment of the king's servants, should have been the most unpopular house of commons with the people at large that has been assembled since his present majesty's accession to the throne. Yet such unquestionably was the fact, and the Prince of Wales, receiving into his confidence the leaders who principally distinguished themselves in that memorable struggle between the crown and the commons, became a partaker in their unpopularity.

The sacrifices which his royal highness made for the ease and security of his creditors, we have already shewn, were far from producing the effect which might have been expected from so generous and disinterested a procedure, and his royal highness's situation *became* every day more critical. In

less than a month from the period in which he had discharged his household, an attempt was made upon the life of the sovereign by a wretched maniac of the name of Margaret Nicholson. When this affair happened, which made a considerable noise at the time, as being the first of the kind, though the danger probably was magnified, his royal highness the Prince of Wales was at Brighton; and the news reached him, not by an immediate conveyance from the king or administration, as delicacy and respect for the rank and situation of the Prince perhaps would have pointed out on such an occasion, but by the information of a private friend. The conduct which the Prince of Wales adopted was that which became him as a son. Instead of taking offence at the neglect, to say no worse of it, which had been shewn him, he quitted Brighton

without a moment's delay, and, proceeding post to Windsor, had an interview with the queen.

Speaking of this period, the writer to whom we have before alluded, says, "Upon this occasion it might have been expected that the affection, which naturally subsists between the parent and the child, should have carried the Prince and the King into each other's arms. They did not see each other. The King knew that the Prince was in the house, but he did not think proper to summon him to his presence. The Prince on his part did not demand an interview, because court etiquette seemed to have placed the necessity of the first overture on the other side, and because he naturally imagined, that he had sufficiently displayed the dispositions by which he was actuated, by the journey from which he was *just* arrived. There had already been

a coldness between the King and the Prince, but this was the first occasion in which it had broken out into act. It was supposed by many, that the King was displeased with the circumstance of the Prince having thought proper to discard his household, without having consulted the inclination of his father, or demanded his consent. It was also supposed that the King participated in the feelings of the majority of his subjects respecting Mrs. Fitzherbert. The rumour of the pretended marriage might probably have originated in a very low and insignificant source; but it is of the nature of rumour to increase, if it be not contradicted by the person to whom it immediately relates. In the present case there were reasons for not contradicting it. The pride of the lady's family, the delicacy due to herself, seemed to require that a certain degree

of mystery and silence should rest upon the transaction. There were few people in Great Britain who knew the falsehood of the rumour; and there were few by whom it was not in good earnest believed. It is even probable, from the coldness and distance that had for some time subsisted, that the King himself was not uninformed upon the subject.

"This open rupture between the Prince and his father filled up the measure of the son's unpopularity. The experienced and the sage took part against him. The domestic character of the King was well known, and was an object of general respect. It was not probable, they said, that the father should fail in paternal kindness to his son, though it was very possible that the son might fail in filial duty to his father. They affirmed, that, in a *quarrel* between the two, the son was

always in the wrong; and they predicted the most calamitous events as the result of this breach. They looked back to the history of the two preceding reigns, and they believed that something more bitter, more inveterate, and more injurious to government and the people would spring up now than in any former instances."

As the dissentions which existed between former heirs apparent and the possessors of the British crown are perhaps, at this distant day, not generally known, we shall give a brief account of them, taken with such care, from sources that can be relied on, that no doubt need be entertained of their authenticity. The coldness between George I. and his son and successor George II. may be said to have been almost coeval with the existence of the latter. It is generally thought to have originated in jealousy; and that

George I. suspecting an intrigue between his consort, the Princess of Zelle, and Count Konigsmerk, who had rendered himself infamous in England by the murder of Mr. Thynne on Westminster-bridge, caused the latter to be assassinated as he was coming out of the princess's apartments, and confined his wife during the remainder of her days in a solitary castle not far from Hanover. Whether George I. suspected the legitimacy of his son is a point which probably will always be buried in oblivion; but it is certain that he always treated him with great coolness, and occasionally with considerable severity. The prince at one time having under the impulse of natural effection attempted to gain access to his mother's person, he was taken into custody by the soldiers who guarded her place of confinement, and ordered by his father to be imprisoned.

More rigorous steps would probably have followed, but the Emperor of Germany reclaimed the young prince as a prince of the empire; and he was soon afterwards sent into a sort of honourable banishment, by being permitted to make a campaign with the emperor's armies on the banks of the Danube. But from this time not merely a mutual coolness but an evident dislike subsisted between George I. and his successor. The wife of George I. lived some years after the accession of that prince to the British throne, but that event made no alteration whatever in her situation, and when she died, which was before her husband, after a long and rigorous imprisonment of many years continuance, no public mourning was ordered on account of her death, and it was announced under the simple title of

Electress of Hanover. George II. retained a lively affection for his mother, and seems to have been persuaded that her sufferings were unmerited. But whatever he thought of her innocence during the life-time of his father, he was obliged carefully to conceal, and it was not until after his own accession to the throne that he ventured to hang up the portrait of his mother in his apartment. A German writer has dramatized this story under the title of the Princess of Zelle, but we have not seen his work; there are likewise two or three French romances, and, if we mistake not, one in our own language, on the same subject. We have given the leading features in the history of this mysterious affair, and we have only to add, that the passage is still shewn in the palace of Heranhausen where the wretched and pro-

fligate Konigsmerk is said to have been put to death, and afterwards buried under a staircase.

The first quarrel between Frederick Prince of Wales and his father George II. originated in an intrigue of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, then in high opposition to the court, who possessing immense riches, and inflamed with boundless ambition, conceived the design of marrying one of her granddaughters to the heir apparent to the crown. The beauty of the young lady and the largeness of the dower which the duchess promised to bestow with her, amounting to 100,000*l.* had nearly caused this scheme to have taken effect, but intelligence of it reaching the ears of Sir Robert Walpole, he took the necessary measures to render it abortive, and the prince soon afterwards was married to Augusta *Princess of* Saxe-Gotha. But he ap-

pears never to have forgiven the conduct of the minister in this affair, for immediately on his coming of age and receiving his establishment, he connected himself with Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and the leaders of the party then in opposition, and became one of the most determined opponents of Sir Robert Walpole.

The line of conduct adopted by his son failed not to prove extremely offensive to the king, but the parties did not come to an open rupture till some time after. What at length induced the prince to act in so extraordinary a manner as he did, is not, and probably never will, to a certainty be known; but the particulars of the transaction were nearly as follow. A few days before the delivery of the Princess of Wales of her first child, when the *royal* family were at Hampton Court *in expectation* of that event, the prince

thought proper suddenly to remove the princess from Hampton Court to the palace at St. James's, where no preparations were made for her reception. This step, so personally insulting to the king, roused, as may naturally be conceived, a high degree of resentment in the royal breast. The queen attended at the labour of the princess in obedience to court etiquette, and was handed to and from her carriage by the Prince of Wales, but did not deign to bestow a single word on him. At the christening of the royal infant, which proved a daughter, and who is now the venerable Duchess Dowager of Brunswick, fresh occasion of quarrel arose. The Duke of Newcastle, who was personally disagreeable to the Prince of Wales, was appointed by the king to stand proxy for one of the absent sponsors, and the prince,

magnifying this into a premeditated insult on the part of the duke, as soon as the king had quitted the presence chamber, attacked the duke in very severe language, and, in extremely reprehensible terms, vowed revenge. This very unjustifiable circumstance was immediately reported to the king, who commanded the Prince of Wales to be put under an arrest in his apartment, and in a few days afterwards sent him orders to quit the palace.

Before a reconciliation took place, Queen Caroline died, after having sent for all her other children, and embraced them with great tenderness on her death-bed; but no submissions of the Prince of Wales could molify her resentment, or induce her to see him. She is supposed, however, to have sent *him her* forgiveness, and to have used

some endeavours to pacify the king, but his majesty remained inexorable.

The Prince of Wales now threw himself entirely into the arms of opposition, and considering Sir Robert Walpole as his great enemy with the king, every nerve was strained to remove that minister from his situation. To such a height was the enmity between the two courts of St. James's and Leicester House carried, that formal notice was given that the presence of those who paid court at the latter would be dispensed with at St. James's. Thus a schism which, in the first instance, was caused probably by some trifling personal altercation, split the court into two great parties, and became in the end the means of dissolving Sir Robert Walpole's administration.

When Sir Robert Walpole quitted the helm of power, the king and the

Prince of Wales became reconciled in appearance; but there is great reason to suppose that the reconciliation was far from cordial on either side; and the death of the prince, which happened a few years afterwards, is not supposed to have been very afflicting to the king.

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE PRINCE'S EMBARRASSMENT—MR. NEWNHAM'S MOTION ON THE SUBJECT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—INJURIOUS INSINUATIONS OF MR. ROLLE—SPEECHES OF MR. SHERIDAN, MR. PITT, AND OTHERS—MEETING OF THE PRINCE OF WALES'S FRIENDS—DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—MR. FOX'S SPIRITED VINDICATION OF THE PRINCE—SPEECHES OF MR. PITT, MR. ROLLE, MR. GREY, AND OTHERS—NEGOCIATION WITH THE PRINCE—POSTPONEMENT OF MR. NEWNHAM'S MOTION—ADDRESS TO THE THRONE FOR THE PAYMEMT OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S DEBTS.

To return from the digression of the preceding chapter to what is more properly the business of this present work.—His royal highness the Prince of Wales persevered in his plan of retrenchment for a period of nine months, and *denying* himself those accommo-

dations and indulgences to which he was so well entitled both by his rank and personal merit, he adhered rigidly to the plan he had entered upon of devoting the greater part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. Nothing could have been more proper and dignified than the conduct his royal highness had observed, but its effect on the public mind was far from answering the expectations of the Prince's friends. They were in hopes that so striking an instance of magnanimity and disinterestedness on the part of the Prince of Wales would have operated somewhere, either on the feelings of his royal father, or on the generosity of the House of Commons, so as to occasion his embarrassments to be taken up as a matter of national concern. But, disappointed in this reasonable expectation, the Prince felt himself indisposed *any longer* to submit to the indignity

of his situation, or to live upon the contracted scale on which, with the most laudable intentions, he had limited his expences.

The public opinion, as we have before intimated, was divided as to the line of conduct proper to be adopted towards the Prince in this emergency. On the one hand it was said, that the Prince of Wales was the fittest person to do the honours of the nation to foreigners of distinction that visited it, and that the magnificence of his living, the liberality of his temper, and the affability of his disposition, were well calculated to exalt and to do credit to the English character. His present situation was therefore to be considered as a disgrace to the nation. It exhibited us, they said, in the eyes of Europe, either as impoverished and impotent, or as governed by an inju-

ham was in every sense of the word an independent man. Engaged in a lucrative business, and possessed of an ample fortune, he had nothing to hope or to wish from court favour, and though on political questions he usually espoused that side which was opposite to the existing administration, there was nothing in his parliamentary conduct which, strictly construed, could entitle him to the epithet of a party man.

The business was first agitated on the 20th of April, 1787, when Mr. Newnham put the question to Mr. Pitt, whether it were his intention to bring forward any proposition to rescue the Prince of Wales from his embarrassed and distressed situation. Being answered by the minister, that he had received no commands to that purpose from the King, the alderman *gave notice,* that on Friday, the 4th of

May, he would bring forward a motion upon that subject for the consideration of the house.

This notice produced a very extraordinary impression upon the minds of his hearers, and awakened the utmost anxiety in different descriptions of persons in parliament. Mr. Pitt, a few days afterwards, revived the subject, and requested to be informed more particularly respecting the precise nature of the proposed motion. To this Mr. Newnham did not think proper to accede; and Mr. Pitt then observed, that the subject was of the highest importance in itself, of the greatest novelty, likely to affect the most essential interests of the country, and of all others required the greatest delicacy in its discussion. The knowledge, he said, which he possessed on the subject, made him particularly desirous *of avoiding* it; but, if it were abso-

lutely determined to bring it forward, he would, however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject.

On the 27th of April, Mr. Newnham stated to the house the precise nature of his motion, which was for an address to his majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration the situation of the Prince of Wales, and to grant his royal highness such relief as in his wisdom he should think fit, pledging the house to make good the same. Mr. Rolle (member for Devonshire, and the same gentleman to whom the humorous poem of the Rolliad was addressed) observed that he felt much concern to find that Mr. Newnham persisted in his intention, and particularly called the attention of the country gentlemen to the subject, as one of those questions, he affirmed, that

tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply to what had fallen from Mr. Rolle, declared himself highly impressed with a sense of the magnitude and importance of the subject, and considered it as of as much consequence as any that had ever been agitated within the walls of that assembly. But he could not agree, he said, that it interested the country gentlemen alone, and not every individual member of parliament. Mr. Sheridan took notice of Mr. Rolle's expression respecting the constitution in church and state, to which, he said, he did not know what precise meaning to affix; and he recurred to another expression employed by Mr. Pitt, which, on account of the station of the person from whom it came, was entitled to the more serious observation. Mr. Sheridan meant, he said, an insinuation that

had fallen from the minister, that there were circumstances which must come out in the discussion, which would shew the impropriety of granting the assistance required. In reply to this, Mr. Sheridan declared from the best and highest authority, that neither the friends of the Prince of Wales, nor his royal highness himself, had any other wish, than that every circumstance in the whole series of his conduct should be minutely and accurately investigated. His royal highness, he felt himself authorized to say, desired that no part of his conduct, circumstances, or situation, should be treated with ambiguity, concealment, or affected tenderness, but that whatever related to him should be discussed openly, and with fair, manly, and direct examination. Mr. Sheridan added, that he had expected long before that the unpleasantness of the discussion would

have been prevented by relief from another quarter, and that he felt an extreme reluctance in agitating it in a hostile manner.

Mr. Dempster, Mr. Hussey, Mr. Powys, and some others, who were generally known by the denomination of country gentlemen, now interfered, and joined their intreaties to Mr. Newnham, that he would give up his intended motion. Mr. Powys, a member of great weight and respectability, observed, that, instead of hearing on that day an explanation of what might be the substance of the motion, he had rather expected that the honourable member who had prepared it, would have come and asked pardon of the house for the impropriety of his conduct. He declared that there never was a question in which he had felt so much, or was so incapable, from agitation, of expressing what he was

anxious to say; and he trusted that every person who wished well to the country, or was attached to the family on the throne, would use every possible effort to prevent it from being debated.

Mr. Pitt now rose, and, after professing much good will and respect for the Prince of Wales, declared he was greatly concerned, that by the perseverance of Mr. Newnham, he should be driven, though with infinite reluctance, to the disclosure of circumstances, which he had an opportunity of knowing, and which he would otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal. He disclaimed any idea of insinuation, and asserted, that the form of the motion, so far from rendering it agreeable to him, was of all others the most improper and unjustifiable that could be proposed.

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he was

unable to comprehend why the notice of the measure should have occasioned so much alarm among the country gentlemen. But be that as it would, the minister had himself erected an insuperable bar to the withdrawing of the motion. Insinuations had been thrown out in the first instance, he said, and converted into assertions, on that day, which the honour and feelings of the parties made it necessary to have explained. Should the persons engaged in the measure now recede from it, could the house, could the country, or could Europe, form any other opinion of such behaviour, than that the Prince had yielded to terror what he had denied to argument? Mr. Sheridan very successfully repelled the charge that had been made against the party with whom he acted, of fomenting the unhappy divisions that were conceived to exist in the royal

family. The charge was as foolish as it was false. Such divisions, he said, so far from assisting, must materially injure those who were not admitted into his majesty's councils, and whose opposition was in reality founded, not in personal animosities, but upon broad constitutional ground.

The spirited manner in which the question was taken up by Mr. Sheridan now induced Mr. Pitt to declare, that the particulars, to which he had alluded, and which he should think it necessary to state more fully to the house, related only to the pecuniary situation of the Prince of Wales, and to a correspondence which had taken place on that subject, and had no reference to any extraneous circumstances. He trusted, therefore, that this matter being explained, he should prevail in his intreaties to prevent the proceeding any further in a business,

which, though he had no doubt it was undertaken from a regard to the honour of the royal family, and the interests of the country, must, if persisted in, be productive of consequences most injurious to both.

Mr. Newnham, in reply to these observations, remarked, that he was not so rash and presumptuous as to have taken up the idea of his motion from the bare suggestion of his own mind, and that, having brought himself to undertake a matter of so much importance, neither was he so weak as to feel any alarm for consequences which might be held out with an interested view to drive him from it.

Two days after this conversation, a meeting was held, at the house of Mr. Thomas Pelham (now Earl of Chichester) of the friends of the intended motion of Alderman Newnham, at which the Prince of Wales was pre-

sent, in order to consider of the state of the business, and to concert such measures as might be thought proper under the present circumstances; and, in consequence of this meeting, new ground was taken in a conversation, that was introduced in the House of Commons on the following day. Mr. Newnham began with alluding to th remark which had been made by Mr. Pitt, that the mode of application by address to the throne was of all others the most exceptionable; and declared, that he should therefore think it right to decline that form of proceeding, and, if Mr. Pitt would point out a mode of application the most mild and the least likely to provoke resistance, he would readily adopt that mode, in preference to any other that might occur to him. He observed, that certain hints had been thrown out by Mr. Pitt respecting the singular delicacy of

some matters that it would be necessary to agitate, which hints, though questionable in their appearance, were explained by the minister in a satisfactory manner. Another allusion had been employed by Mr. Rolle, who had talked of the question as affecting our constitution in church and state, and he conceived that that gentleman was bound, as a man of honour, to come to an open explanation of what he intended by that allusion.

Mr. Fox, who had not been present at the preceding conversations, now followed Mr. Newnham. The testimony of that illustrious senator was decisive in the Prince's favour. He had understood, he said, that Mr. Sheridan, on a former occasion, had observed, that the Prince did not wish to shrink from any inquiry which it might be thought necessary to institute. Mr. Fox now confirmed that

assertion from the immediate authority of the Prince. With regard to the private correspondence in question, he was desirous to have it laid before the house, because it would prove the conduct of the Prince to have been in the highest degree amiable, and would present an uniform and perfect picture of duty and obedience, as much so as had ever in any instance been shown, from a son to his father, or from a subject to his sovereign. As to the debt which was the cause of his embarrassment, Mr. Fox declared, that the Prince of Wales was willing to give a general and fair account of it; and if any part of it were doubted, from a suspicion that this or that article of the account comprehended any sums of money indirectly applied, he would give a clear explanation to the King or his ministers. He had not the *smallest* objection to affording the

house every possible satisfaction, and *there was not a circumstance of his life which he was ashamed to have known.* With respect to the allusion to church and state, Mr. Fox said, that until the person who had made it thought proper to explain himself, it was impossible for him to say with certainty to what it referred. But he supposed it must have originated in that miserable calumny, that low malicious falsehood, which had been propagated out of doors, and made the wanton sport of the vulgar. He hoped, however, that a tale, fit only to impose on the lower order of persons in the street, would not have gained the smallest degree of credit. But, when it appeared that an invention so monstrous, that a report of a fact, which was destitute of the slightest foundation, and which was absolutely impossible to have happened, had been

circulated with so much industry, and made so deep an impression, it proved at once the uncommon pains taken by the enemies of the Prince to propagate the grossest and most malignant falsehoods, to injure him in the opinion of his country and of Europe. Mr. Fox added, that when he considered his royal highness was the first subject in the kingdom, and the immediate heir to the throne, he was at a loss to imagine what species of party it was, that could have originated so base and scandalous a calumny. Had there existed in the kingdom such a faction as an anti-Brunswick faction, to that faction he should certainly have attributed the fabrication of so infamous a falsehood; for he saw not what other description of men could feel an interest, in first inventing, and then circulating with more than ordinary assi*duity a tale,* in every particular so un-

founded. Mr. Fox farther added, that the Prince had authorized him to declare, that as a peer of parliament, his royal highness was ready in the other house, to submit to any the most pointed questions that could be put to him upon the subject, or to afford the King or his ministers the fullest assurances of the utter falsehood of the fact in question. With respect to the alarming consequences, talked of as likely to be the effect of a parliamentary discussion of the Prince's situation, Mr. Fox declared, that he saw no reason whatever to dread them.

Mr. Pitt now rose, and observed, that Mr. Newnham had mistaken the nature of his objection to the intended motion. His opposition, he said, was pointed at every proposal which should originate such a subject in that house; so that in fact the form in which it was done could have very little weight

in his consideration. Mr. Fox, he observed, had proceeded a little too far, in having charged him with dealing insinuations and innuendos, merely because he had stated that disagreeable topics would be found to mingle in the discussion of the subject. Mr. Pitt added, that it little became Mr. Fox at the same time to throw out hints and insinuations, evidently calculated and intended to fall somewhere, and upon some person, whom, though he had not mentioned, he seemed to think the house would be able to discover. Such expressions, he was convinced, no member could expect him to answer. Mr. Fox had not pointed his charge against any individual, nor should he point it for him.

Mr. Rolle, who was evidently alluded to in the latter part of Mr. Pitt's speech, now rose, and acknowledged, *that the* subject, upon which Mr. Fox

had spoken, was the matter to which he referred, as affecting both church and state. That matter had been stated and discussed in the newspapers all over the kingdom, and it had made an impression on him, and upon almost all ranks of men in the country, who loved and venerated the constitution. Mr. Fox had said, that it was impossible to have happened. They all knew, that there were certain laws and acts of parliament which forbade it; but though it could not be done under the formal sanction of law, there were ways in which it might have taken place. Those laws in the minds of some persons might be satisfactorily evaded, and yet the fact might be equally productive of the most alarming consequences. It ought, therefore, for the satisfaction of those who had their fears on the subject, to be fully cleared up.

Mr. Fox replied to the last speaker with great animation. He did not, he said, deny the calumny in question, merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in point of fact as well as law. The fact, he affirmed, not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen any way, and had from the beginning been a base and malicious falsehood. Mr. Rolle rose again, and asked whether, in what he had said, Mr. Fox had spoken from direct authority. Mr. Fox declared that he had spoken from direct authority.

Mr. Rolle making no reply to this, Mr. Sheridan rose, and observed, that the honourable gentleman, after having put a pointed question and received an immediate answer, was bound in honour and fairness, either to declare *that he* was satisfied, or to take some

means of putting the matter into such a state of inquiry as should satisfy him. To remain silent, or to declare (which was the only answer which could be extorted from Mr. Rolle) that the house would judge for themselves of what had passed, was neither manly nor candid. If therefore he did not chuse to say he was satisfied, Mr. Sheridan thought that the house ought to come to a resolution, that it was seditious and disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince, and thus by their interposition to discountenance the report.

The argument of Mr. Sheridan was enforced in a brief speech by Mr. Grey, then a young but promising member of the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt affected to consider the language of Mr. Sheridan as the most direct attack upon the freedom of de-

bate and liberty of speech in that house, that had been made ever since he sat in parliament. In his opinion, the members on that side of the house should rather be obliged to the gentleman, who was the first to suggest a question, which had been the means of bringing forward so explicit a declaration on so interesting a subject, and one which must give complete satisfaction, not only to Mr. Rolle, but to the whole house. Mr. Pitt added, that he was particularly prepared to disprove any arguments which might be brought in support of the necessity of an application to parliament, as he had opportunities of knowing, from the correspondence which had passed, that no such necessity could arise from the want of a fit degree of forwardness in another quarter to do every thing which ought to be done in the business.

In this stage of the transaction, an intimation was conveyed to the Prince of Wales, that Mr. Dundas (then one of the secretaries of state) would be glad, if his royal highness had no objection, to have an interview with him. This overture was reported to have sprung from some things that had been dropped by the Duchess of Gordon upon the subject, in a conversation between her grace and Mr. Pitt. Whether this was actually the case, it is not for us to determine, but it is certain that the intimation had every desired effect. Mr. Dundas had an interview with the Prince at Carlton-house, and the following day Mr. Pitt was admitted to his royal highness. In consequence of these interviews Mr. Newnham acquainted the House of Commons, on the day originally selected for his long expected motion, that that motion was now

no longer necessary, and therefore with the most sincere and heartfelt satisfaction he declined the bringing it forward.

Mr. Drake (member for Agmondesham) was the first to express his sentiments upon the subject; which he did, as he observed, in a very disarranged and unconnected style; but added, that the excessive gladness of his heart was superior to eloquence, and the pleasantness of his sensations almost deprived him of the power of uttering his sentiments. He expressed his wishes, that the King might continue to reign over a great, loyal, and united people, till the utmost period of humanity, and that, when by the course of nature his successor should mount the throne, he might copy the pious example and purity of manners of his royal father. Mr. Rolle concurred *in being* pleased with the cir-

cumstance of the motion's being withdrawn, but observed, that the terms, upon which the difference had been accommodated, were an entire secret to him, but, if it should hereafter appear, that any concessions had been made, humiliating to the country, or dishonourable in themselves, he should be the first man to stand up in the house and sigmatize them as they deserved.

A discussion somewhat curious in its nature now followed between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt. By the latter it was remarked, that he concurred in the general joy, in finding that Mr. Newnham had at last discovered, in consequence of steps very recently pursued by the Prince of Wales, that the measure which he had undertaken was unnecessary. For himself he could not avoid declaring, that, as he had all along regarded it as super-

fluous, so he did not now see that it was more so than at the time when the notice was given. Mr. Fox, in reply to this, declared, that he was as much convinced that the motion had been necessary, as he was at that moment persuaded that it was no longer necessary. Mr. Pitt, in answer, expressed his aversion to the saying any thing which might lead to a discussion of the subject, but he would declare, that he knew of no alteration in the circumstances of the case, and was confident that nothing had taken place which might not equally have been brought about without any such interference, as that which had been resorted to. As to what Mr. Rolle had said of terms and conditions, he knew of none that had been made. There was no concession of any sort on the part of that person, who was the highest and *most distin*guished on the present oc-

casion. His conduct had been uniform and consistent, and he had not in any one instance departed from those principles, which had all along influenced his proceedings.

Mr. Fox acknowledged that the mention of anything like terms was highly improper and objectionable; but, as Mr. Pitt had chosen to say that the conduct of one party had been uniform and consistent, it became his duty to declare, that the conduct of the other party alluded to had been equally uniform, perfectly respectful, and entitled to the highest commendations.

Mr. Sheridan now rose, and observed, that he saw no reason on the one hand why the conversation should be prolonged, nor on the other did he conceive that a necessity for abridging it could arise from any apprehension *that it* might terminate in alter-

cation or difference of opinion. He would not enter into the distinctions which Mr. Pitt had attempted to make, and, if the object of them were to insinuate that the merit of the reconciliation belonged exclusively to the ministers of the sovereign, he should leave them to the consciousness of that merit. Opposition were ready to wave every title to credit, since, in truth, the measures which had been adopted were the result of the Prince's own judgment, which none but those who did not know him could consider as needing the assistance or counsel of any other person. Mr. Sheridan, in a very impressive and animated tone, reminded the house, that the Prince of Wales had shrunk from no inquiry, though he acknowledged that no such ideas having been pursued, was a matter that did credit to the decorum, the dignity, and the feelings of par-

liament. But, while the Prince's feelings had no doubt been considered on the occasion, he must take the liberty of saying, however some might think it a subordinate consideration, that there was another person entitled in the judgment of every delicate and honourable mind to the same attention: one, whom he would not venture otherwise to describe, than by saying, it was a name, which malice or ignorance alone could attempt to injure, and whose conduct and character were entitled to the truest respect.

Fourteen days subsequent to this conversation a message from the King was delivered to both houses of parliament, informing them, that it was with great concern his majesty had to acquaint them, that from the accounts of the Prince of Wales it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, *which if left to* be discharged out of

his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station. Painful as it was at all times to the King to propose any addition to the heavy expences of his people, he was induced to the present application from his paternal affection to the Prince of Wales. He could not however expect, or desire the assistance of parliament, but on a well-grounded expectation that the Prince would avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object the King had directed a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance, and he had the satisfaction to observe, that the Prince had given the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expences within the limits of his income, and had settled a plan and fixed an order in those expences,

which, it was trusted, would effectually secure the due execution of his intentions. The King further recommended to parliament the completing in a proper manner the works that had been undertaken at Carlton-house.

Mr. Rolle was the only person who spoke upon the occasion of delivering this message. He observed, however, that he would not anticipate the subsequent debate. The accounts were presented to the House of Commons on the Wednesday following, and on the next day an address was voted to the King, to request his majesty to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the further sum of 20,000*l.* on account of the works at Carlton-house.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KING'S ILLNESS—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT ON THE OCCASION—MR. FOX'S ASSERTION OF THE PRINCE'S RIGHT TO THE REGENCY—DEBATES ON THE SUBJECT—DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS—PROPRIETY OF CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES IN THIS DELICATE EMERGENCY—DECLARATIONS OF MR. FOX AND THE DUKE OF YORK—PROCEEDINGS IN THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITUATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AT THIS PERIOD.

THE next occasion on which the Prince of Wales came more particularly before the public, was on the alarming indisposition of the King towards the close of the year 1788. The King's malady, it need scarcely here be mentioned, was of a melancholy nature, which utterly precluded him from exercising the functions of royalty, and

therefore no time was to be lost in appointing some one to exercise the supreme authority during the continuance of his majesty's incapacity.

Parliament met on the 20th of November, 1788; and after the ministers had briefly explained his majesty's melancholy situation, both houses adjourned for a fortnight. At their next meeting a committee of twenty-one persons in each house was appointed to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians; and a further adjournment to the 10th of December took place. On that day the report of the committee was laid upon the table of the House of Commons; and after commenting upon it some time, Mr. Pitt moved, "That a committee be appointed to examine and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had, in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority

being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same."

This motion, which evidently went to cause a waste of time, was strenuously deprecated by Mr. Fox, who being on an excursion to the continent when the King's illness was first known, had been sent express for by the Prince of Wales, to assist him in this emergency with his counsels. Mr. Fox contended that it was the duty of parliament to lose no time in proceeding to provide some measure for the exigency of the present moment, and he thought that exigency so pressing in point of time, that he for one would oppose the motion then made. What, he asked, were they going to search for? Not precedents upon their journals, not parliamentary precedents, *but* precedents in the history of

England. He would be bold to say, nay they all knew, that the doing so would be a loss of time, for there existed no precedents whatever, that could bear upon the present case. There might have been an incompetency, there might have been an inability in former monarchs, to direct the reins of government; but if such a misfortune had happened to the country, it had happened at a time when there was not the alleviation of a natural substitute. The circumstance to be provided for did not depend upon their deliberation, it rested elsewhere. There was then a person in the kingdom, differing from any other person that any existing precedents could refer to, *an heir apparent of full age and capacity to exercise the regal power.* It behoved them, therefore, not to waste a moment unnecessarily, but to proceed with all-becoming speed and

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come forward fairly, and avow it at that instant. If the Prince of Wales did not instantly claim those powers to which, from analogy, from history, and from the spirit of the constitution he was clearly entitled; if he acted in a manner more suited to his character and education; that moderation should be their strongest incitement to do him justice. The Prince, Mr. Fox said, had been bred up in those principles which had placed his illustrious house upon the throne, and with a known reverence and regard for those principles, as the true fundamentals of our glorious constitution, in the maintenance of which his family had flourished with so much prosperity and happiness as the sovereigns of the British empire. Hence it was, that his royal highness chose rather to wait the decision of parliament, with a patient and due deference to the constitu-

tion, than urge a claim which, he trusted, a majority of that house and of the people at large admitted, and which, he was persuaded, could not reasonably be disputed.—But, asked Mr. Fox, ought the Prince of Wales to wait unnecessarily? Ought his royal highness to wait while precedents were searched for, when it was known that none bore upon the case, which so nearly concerned him, existed. In the deference and forbearance of the Prince they were not to forget his right. In all their observations, they should remember that there was such a claim existing, and it should serve to hasten their decisions, as far as was consistent with the magnitude of the occasion.

Mr. Pitt immediately commenced a very warm reply. The doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox, he said, was itself, if any additional reason was neces-

sary, the strongest and most unanswerable for the appointment of the committee he had moved for, that could possibly be given.—If a claim of right was intimated (even though not formally) on the part of the Prince of Wales, to assume the government, it became of the utmost consequence to ascertain from precedent and history, whether this claim were founded, which, if it was, precluded the house from the possibility of all deliberation on the subject. In the mean time, he maintained, that it would appear from every precedent, and from every page of our history, that to assert such a right in the Prince of Wales, or any one else, independent of the decision of the two houses of parliament, was little less than treason to the constitution of the country. He pledged himself to this assertion, *that in the* case of the interruption of

the personal exercise of the royal authority, without any previous lawful provision having been made for carrying on the government, it belonged to the other branches of the legislature, on the part of the nation at large (the body they represented) to provide according to their discretion for the temporary exercise of the royal authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, in such manner as they should think requisite, and that, unless by their decision, the Prince of Wales had no right (speaking of strict right) to assume the government any more than any other individual in the country. Whatever might be the discretion of parliament, with respect to the disposition of those powers, their right to dispose of them was undoubted; and that, until the sanction of parliament was obtained, the Prince of Wales *had no* more right to exercise the

powers of government than any other person in the realm.

In the upper house of parliament, a similar motion for a committee was made by Lord Camden (lord president of the council) on the following day, and as Mr. Fox's doctrine had excited a large share of the public attention, as well on account of the talents and estimation of the character by whom it was delivered, as from the circumstance that he was well known to be high in the confidence of the Prince of Wales, it was particularly alluded to by Lord Camden in the speech with which he introduced his motion. Lord Loughborough (then Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas), who headed the Prince of Wales's party in the House of Peers, and was supposed to look forward to the post of chancellor, in the event of the Prince's *having* been declared regent, rose to

vindicate the sentiments of Mr. Fox. His lordship observed, that there was an act of King Charles II. by which it was expressly declared, that no law could in any case be made, but by the authority of the three branches of the legislature; and that any man asserting the contrary would be liable to the penalties of high treason. Could anything therefore be more absurd than to say, that the two houses of parliament, which could not even make a turnpike act, might dispose, by their own authority, of the executive government? There were only two cases, his lordship maintained, in which the throne could become vacant, and the interference of the two houses of parliament be requisite to fill it: the one was a total subversion of the government by a breach of the original compact, as in the case of an abdication of the crown; the other, when the

royal line became extinct, and the King at his decease left no heir. It had been declared, that the Prince of Wales had no more right than any private subject. Could this be true? Was the Prince of Wales a common subject? Did not the law, as expounded by Lord Coke, describe him to be one and the same person with the King? Was it not equally high treason to compass or imagine the death either of the one or the other? It happened that at this time that the two houses were legally assembled under the king's writs; but, if the case had been otherwise, it would surely have been warrantable for the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, to have issued writs, and called a parliament. Lord Loughborough was far from meaning that the Prince could violently rush into the sovereignty, but thought, that *upon the* authentic notification of the

King's incapacity to the two houses of parliament, the Prince ought of right to be invested with the royal authority. He next begged leave to remind his hearers that there was a neighbouring kingdom that stood connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown. If the regency was declared to be elective and not hereditary, how could we be sure that they would not chuse a regent of their own, and thus lead to endless confusion and embarrassment?

Lord Stormont supported the principles of Lord Loughborough, adducing a similar argument from the act of union with Scotland, and concluded with recommending an immediate address to the Prince of Wales, entreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority.

Lord Thurlow expressed extreme *concern, that* any difference of opinion

should be likely to arise on a question so peculiarly critical and delicate. He observed, that nothing he had yet heard gave satisfaction to his mind, and he therefore wished, previous to the declaration of his opinion, to have the full advantage of every precedent and every analogy that could be found. He added, however, that the doctrine maintained by Lord Loughborough was perfectly new to him, and that much stress could not surely be laid on a metaphorical expression, such as had been cited from Lord Coke. At the same time he commended that nobleman for having spoken of the Prince of Wales in the abstract, without affecting to rest any part of his argument on the personal virtues of the present heir apparent, who should always have his applause, when the expression of it would not be an act of impertinence.

The conduct of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in this delicate

and embarrassing exigency, was such as did great credit to his judgment and principles. As soon as he found that the question of his right to the regency, as stated by Mr. Fox, had excited considerable alarm in both houses of parliament, and throughout the nation in general, he anxiously endeavoured to avert the farther discussion of this delicate topic. For this purpose a declaration was made by Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, that the opinion he had delivered was in his private capacity, and without the Prince of Wales's authority; and the Duke of York, in the House of Peers, after a modest introduction, soliciting the indulgence of his hearers, as being unaccustomed to public speaking, said, "that no claim of right had been made on the part of the Prince; and he was confident that his royal *highness* understood too well the sacred

nciples which seated the house of
nswick on the throne of Great
, ever to assume or exercise
er, be *his claim what it might,*
from *the will of the people,*
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ur lordships in pa nt assembled.
It was upon this gr that he must
hope, that the wisdom and moderation
of all considerate men, at a moment
when temper and unanimity were so
peculiarly necessary, on account of
the dreadful calamity, which every
description of persons must, in com-
mon, lament, but which he more par-
ticularly felt, would make them wish
to avoid pressing a decision, which
certainly was not necessary to the great
object expected from parliament, and
which, in the discussion, must be most
painful to a family already sufficiently
agitated and afflicted. Such," his
royal highness observed in conclusion,

" were the sentiments of an honest heart, equally influenced by duty and affection to his royal father, and by attachment to the constitutional rights of his subjects; and he was confident, that if his royal brother were to address them, in his place, as peer of the realm, these were the sentiments which he would distinctly avow."

This declaration, which was confirmed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, though it produced a very favourable impression, failed of preventing the further discussion of the question of the Prince's right to the regency. Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, with that generous zeal which so eminently distinguished his character, and which is so well described by his able biographer, Mr. Fell *, strenuously disclaim-

* See Mr. Fell's " Memoirs of the Public *Life of the late* Right Honourable Charles James

ed any assertion of right on the part of the Prince, but maintained his former opinion, "*that from the moment that the two houses of parliament declared the King unable to exercise the royal sover[illegible]m that moment, a right to exerci[illegible] royal authority, with all its functi[illegible] attached to the Prince of Wales, for [illegible]he time such incapacity might exist.*"—"The idea," to quote the words of Mr. Fox's biographer, "which he meant to convey was this, that the exercise of the royal authority was the *right*, under such circumstances, of the Prince of Wales, but he had spoken of it as a *right* and not a *possession*. Before the Prince could exercise that right, he must appeal to the court, competent to decide, whether it belonged to him or not, and

Fox," a work equally honourable to the talents and the sound political principles of that spirited writer.

from the adjudication of that court receive the possession. With the lords and commons of Great Britain rested the adjudication of the Prince of Wales's right, and by them he was to be put into possession. But, in considering this, they were not to exercise *discretion,* whether he was, or was not, the proper person to exercise that right, but whether or not he really had it; they were not then in the capacity to legislate, but only to judge, functions, which they all knew to be clearly distinct. The more clearly to understand this, it was necessary to explain the precise meaning of the word *election,* and to contrast it with the term adjudication. That house could legislate and provide such measures as it deemed adviseable for the public interest. When they individually gave their votes for such persons, whom they *thought most* proper to represent them

in parliament, they made their *election* of the representatives; but when they sat in a committee above stairs, to try whether A. or B. was entitled to a seat as representative for such or such a borough, they sat as judges, and their report was an *adjudication* of the right of A. or B.

" In this situation did the house stand at present; they had not a legislative power, for the invigorating principle which gave life and action to that power was wanting. As the monarchy was, on every principle of the constitution, hereditary, so, of consequence, was the exercise of the executive power; and the house, in its deliberation, was not at liberty to exercise its discretion, or to chuse a parliamentary regent; they were not to consider, whether they were about to *make a prudent election*, but bound to *pronounce a just judgment*.

"He had, in terms the most explicit and unequivocal, asserted it as his opinion, that when that and the other house of parliament declared his majesty incapable of exercising the royal authority, that was the precise period when the Prince's right attached, and when that house ought not to delay in restoring the royal authority. Had he not said, that the same principles which made the crown hereditary made the executive power and the government of the country hereditary likewise? Upon that ground it was, that he had argued as he had done, and that he conceived to be the nature of the Prince of Wales's right. He could not therefore be supposed to mean, that the Prince would be justifiable, when the houses were sitting, in taking upon himself the powers and authority of regent, until they were adjudged to him by parliament. If

there was no parliament either sitting or existing, then, indeed, it would have been the duty of the Prince of Wales to have called a *convention* of the lords and commons; to whom the cause of their being so called might have been explained, and by whom his right, and the circumstances in which it originated, might be recognized; and that then being met by him, as exercising the delegated functions of the royal power, they would become a legal parliament.

"Having thus, as he hoped, clearly explained his meaning, he was free to acknowledge, that more difference of opinion prevailed respecting the *right* of the Prince of Wales to exercise the royal authority, under the circumstances so often stated, than he could have expected; but much of *that* difference of opinion, he found, arose more from some nice, logical, and

legal distinctions, taken between the words right and claim; distinctions, in his mind, more equivocal than solid and substantial, and which were rested on arguments, which, he confessed, his understanding was too dull to comprehend. One idea he had learnt was, that it was allowed by some, that the Prince of Wales had an irresistible claim, which the parliament could not reject or refuse, whenever it was made, without forfeiting their duty to the constitution. To that idea, he, for one, had no objection; because he knew no difference between an irresistible claim, and an inherent right. In another place the *right* of the Prince of Wales had been gone into deeply, and that by persons every way qualified to discuss it, who gave all their sanction and authority to his opinion.

"If the Prince of Wales had done *him the honour* to have asked his ad-

vice how to proceed, he should have told him, as parliament was assembled, that his royal highness might have sent a message to either house, or to houses of parliament, stating his im, and c pon them to de- upon it. E s he had said on former day, his royal highness's forbearance was such, that he would end his claim to neither house of parliament; but would wait patiently, and with due deference, being conscious that the two houses ought to *find* that claim, and restore the royal authority. Mr. Fox said, he could not help thinking, that the conduct of his royal highness deserved the commendation he had bestowed on it, and was entitled to universal applause. He declared, he had sanguine hopes, that in the adjustment of a business of so delicate and important a nature, men of every description would have concurred in

one leading and essential circumstance, viz. that let there exist what doubt there might of the Prince of Wales's *right* to exercise the royal authority, under the present circumstances of the country, there could be none of the propriety of investing him with the sole administration of government, and with the exercise of all the regal functions, powers and prerogatives.—His opinion therefore was, to declare his royal highness REGENT, for the purpose of exercising all the regal powers, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as they might have been exercised by his majesty, had his health been such as to render him capable of continuing to exercise the royal authority."

The spirited and well informed writer from whom we have made the above extract, speaking of the situation of public affairs at this period, observes with his usual force, that

" a variety of circumstances concurred to render the agitation of the Prince's right extremely ill-timed for the party with whom Mr. Fox acted. All public bodies are fond of power, and the Parliament of Great Britain being told by grave authority that they had a sceptre to bestow; with feelings very natural for a public body in such a predicament, were unwilling to wave so important a privilege. Another consideration was, the unpopularity of the Prince of Wales. His debts had been paid the preceding year to a large amount, and the minister had dexterously contrived that all the odium of that measure should rest with the confidential friends of the Prince. But what perhaps operated most to the disadvantage of the heir apparent, was a ridiculous report which prevailed at this time, and was credulously believed by many, whose situations in life

should have rendered them superior to so gross a calumny, that his royal highness had contracted a marriage, according to the rites of the Romish church, with a catholic lady. It was in vain that the friends of the Prince declared that the fact not only never could have happened legally, in consequence of the restrictions of the royal marriage act, but never did happen in any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood. Notwithstanding an explicit declaration to this effect was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox, at the time when the Prince of Wales's debts were under consideration, it was far from removing suspicion; and many honest and well meaning members of parliament, who otherwise probably would have voted for the Prince of Wales's absolute right to the regency, under a strong

jealousy of this connection, supported the proposition of the minister. Above all, the peculiar circumstances of popular delusion under which the house of commons was convened, and which gave the minister so powerful an influence in that house, still existed in considerable force, and therefore any proposition proceeding from the distinguished leader of the opposition was certain to be received with the utmost circumspection and reserve."

CHAPTER VII.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE MINISTER—SPEECHES OF MR. BURKE—HIS QUESTIONS TO MR. GILL—LETTER OF MR. PITT TO THE PRINCE OF WALES—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S ANSWER—REFLECTIONS ON THESE COMMUNICATIONS—MR. PITT'S PROPOSITIONS—OBJECTIONS OF THE OPPOSITION—DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS—SPEECH INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED BY THE DUKE OF YORK—RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE TWO HOUSES.

After the committee of the House of Commons had made their report on the subject of precedents, Mr. Pitt, emboldened by the support which his opinion had received in both houses and out of doors, moved two resolutions of a declaratory nature, the first affirming that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted;

l the second, that it was the duty of
: two houses of parliament to pro-
e the means of supplying that de-
. These were agreed to, in spite
most animated opposition, by a
rity of 268 against 204; and
soon followed by a third resolu-
declaring it to be necessary, for
rpose of supplying that defect,
.u maintaining entire the constitu-

tional authority of the King, that the two houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to the bill, which they might adopt for constituting a regency. What the minister proposed was that the lord chancellor should be empowered to put the great seal to any act which the two houses of parliament might think proper to pass.

This resolution, which implied a *monstrous* fiction in itself, was attacked by Mr. Burke with the combined

force of argument and ridicule. "I consider myself," said that great orator, "as fully justified in asserting, that Great Britain is governed by an hereditary monarchy: it is so by the written, and the unwritten law: it is so by the very essence of our excellent constitution: it is our own inheritance: it is our powerful barrier, our strong rampart against the ambition of mankind: it holds out an excellent lesson to the most aspiring: it says, *thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.* Yet we are taught by the chancellor of the exchequer, that election alone constitutes the right of the Prince of Wales to assume the executive government during the King's incapacity. This is saying, in other words, that any other individual has in the present instance as good a right to the throne as the house of Hanover. Is it possible for such monstrous opinions to be enter-

tained? But at the present crisis, there is something very ungenerous in persisting in such sentiments. If we fight against the crown, let us fight against it fairly: when the monarch is seated on the throne, then the contest may be fair, and we act manfully; but what is to be done when the crown is in a *deliquium?* Are we to take a man with *a large brow* and *a big wig?* Is he a fit person? Trust none of the royal family, for they will all rob the crown, because they are the relatives of the sovereign; and in order to give a proper and legal sanction to our proceedings, we will give a fictitious assent to our own acts. This is called the *royal assent,* without any intimation to the royal person of any such assent, or to the illustrious personage who is to act for him. This is a glaring falsehood, a palpable absurdity! I do not approve of any rob-

bery, house-breaking, highway robbery, or any other felony: yet each of them is less inexcusable than law forgery. The great seal is to be affixed to a commission robbing the executive power of its due functions: a certain composition of wax and copper is to represent the monarch: this is a species of absurd metaphysics and absurd mechanics—a fiction so preposterous, that I do not see how it is possible to treat it otherwise than with contempt and ridicule: but the great effect which this absurdity is to have makes it serious and important. I disclaim all allegiance—I renounce all obedience and loyalty to a king so chosen, and a crown so formed. I have given my allegiance already to the house of Hanover, to possess the power given by the constitution. I worship the gods of our glorious constitution; but I will not worship Priapus—I have

the pleasure to coincide with the idea of my right honourable friend [Mr. Fox] concerning the right of the Prince of Wales. If the King be blind, dumb, lethargic, or apoplectic, there must be some person who is perfect, or else to whom do we owe our allegiance? Gentlemen on the other side seem to value themselves like antiquaries, who have a HOMER without a head, and thus the constitution is made a MUSEUM."

On another debate on the same topic, Mr. Burke again exposed, with the most pointed ridicule, the absurd contrivance to enable the lord chancellor to put the great seal to the decision of the two branches only of the legislature. "I never heard," said he, "of a phantom being raised in a private family but for the purpose of robbing the house. So far from being *a representative* of the forms of the

constitution, it is a masquerade, a mummery, a piece of buffoonery, used to burlesque the constitution, and to ridicule every form of government. A phantom conjured up to affright propriety, and to drive it from our isle. An hideous spectre, to which it might be said in the words of Mackbeth to Banquo's ghost—

> Avaunt! and quit my sight! Let the earth hide thee!
> Thy bones are marrowless; thy blood is cold;
> Thou hast no speculation in those eyes,
> Which thou dost glare with———

And so, in fact, it was with this political spectre; *its bones are marrowless; its blood is cold; it has no speculation in its eyes.* It it a chimera, a monster taken out of the depths of hell."

Mr. Pitt having, in one of those warm altercations that so frequently occurred at this period, denied that it

was either a fraud, or a fiction, to employ the great seal as the organ of the King, under the sanction of the united wisdom of both houses, Mr. Burke said in reply, "that such a plan deserved a worse name than that of a fiction or phantom. They were going to create Milton's monsters of Sin and Death—death to the constitution, and sin to the feelings of the country. What must be the progeny, but innumerable barking monsters, howling at, and endeavouring to destroy every principle of the constitution? They were going to steal the great seal—to commit a forgery and fraud—to support violence—and to carry them on to their climax of villainy. If the house wished to preserve unity in the empire, they ought to appoint a person who was interested in the empire to represent the King: they ought *to trust,* upon his word, the Prince of

Wales, whom hereafter they must trust without; and thus, they would save their country, and none would suffer but ambitious men. The danger, which had been talked of, if they were to address the Prince of Wales to take the regency upon him, reminded Mr. Burke of the giant who used to swallow a dozen windmills for breakfast every morning, and was afterwards choaked by a small bit of butter in July." *

* Mr. Burke's exertions in behalf of the Prince of Wales, at this period, were not confined to his speeches in the House of Commons, but he likewise employed his pen in vindicating the Prince's claim to the regency. Among the numberless attacks on Mr. Pitt, which appeared at this time, the keenest and the most unanswerable appeared in the form of "Questions to Mr. Gill," who had distinguished himself in the defence of administration. The following is a copy of those curious interrogatories, which were generally attributed to Mr. Burke, and indeed carry with them strong internal evidence of being the production of his mind.

"*Do you not* know, that the very same pre-

But notwithstanding all the efforts of Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and the

tences, which are set up for excluding the royal family from the temporary representation of the crown in giving assent to acts the most immediately concerning the exercise of the rights of the crown, may be used for depriving the whole house of Brunswick of the right of succession settled by law?—Do you really think that the men of spirit in this country will tamely suffer themselves to be stripped of the inestimable security they have for all the blessings of the revolution, in order to turn this flourishing kingdom, under the false appearance of a republic, into a despotism for Mr. Pitt, and a job for you, and such as you?

"Do you not know that a man may live under this malady of madness for many years; and that the pretext of to-day may serve for the deceit of to-morrow; and that when the successor, after perhaps twenty years, comes to his empty name of inheritance, he will find the same conspiracy of wicked and ungrateful servants, strengthened by time and the perversion of all the favours of the crown, in full possession of power, so as hardly to leave him the name of a king?

"For that purpose did Pitt declare, that every individual in the kingdom (you, Mr. Gill, for instance) had as good a right to be elected regent as the Prince of Wales? Is not that position as false as it is invidious, insolent, and audacious?

other opposition orators, Mr. Pitt's resolutions were carried by triumphant

"When did you, even in the most disorderly and distant times, hear that a parliament was held, and the royal assent given, during the incapacity of the king, to any acts, except by the eldest prince of the blood, then of full age, and then in England?

"Is not the pretended grant of the regency to the Prince of Wales upon terms on which he cannot possibly exercise his trust without Pitt's consent—is not this avowedly giving the regency to Pitt?

"Do you not know, as a fact, that Mr. Pitt has not only centred in himself the whole power of the crown as first minister, but has distributed, for power and profit, all the principal departments of the state, and every honour and distinction, among his own relations and kindred? Is not his cousin-german lord lieutenant of Ireland, with the whole patronage of that kingdom?—Is not General Pitt commander in chief there?—Is not his brother Lord Chatham, first lord of the Admiralty, with all the patronage of the navy?—Is not Lord Sidney, Lord Chatham's father-in-law, principal secretary of state, with all the patronage of Canada, Nova Scotia, and all the West India islands?—Is not his cousin-german, Mr. Grenville, paymaster, with the reversion, on a very old life, of remembrancer in Ireland, a place for life of

majorities, through both houses of parliament. In the House of Peers the resolutions were debated with as much acrimony as in the House of Commons; and when they were finally carried, by a majority of 99 against 66, a spirited protest was entered on the lord's journals, signed by two princes of the blood (the Dukes of

3000*l.* a year?—Is not his brother-in-law, Mr. Elliot, made by him clerk of the pells, a place of 1800*l.* a year for life?—Was not his cousin, Lord Camelford, made a peer; and Lord Elliot, whose son had married his sister, a peer likewise? —Do you know to what length he would have gone, unless stopped by the king's malady?— and are you resolved he shall never be stopped?

"Do not those who compose the faction you support in both houses consist of Pitt, Thurlow, Dundas, John Robinson, and a corrupt and degenerate confederacy of *placemen*, *pensioners*, *jobbers*, and *old hacks of the court* and the rest of the *supporters* and *betrayers of all parties* for twenty-eight years; and are they not directly aiming to hold to themselves, by force, their places, pecuniary profits, power, and influence, at the risque of the destruction of the crown, and the ruin of the kingdom."

York and Cumberland) and forty-six peers of the realm.

The object of Mr. Pitt, which was to secure to his own party the lucrative places they held in the royal household, and thereby perpetuate his influence in the two houses of parliament, being now completely obtained, on the 30th of December he addressed the following letter to the Prince of Wales, containing the outlines of his plan of the proposed regency.

"SIR,

"The proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the House of Commons the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during the present interval, and your royal

highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communication on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully intreating your royal highness's permission to submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan, which his majesty's confidential servants humbly conceive (according to the best judgment which they are able to form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

"It is their humble opinion, that your royal highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during his majesty's illness, and to do all acts, which might legally be done by his majesty; with provisions nevertheless, that the care of his majesty's royal person, and the management of the royal household,

and the direction and appointment of the offices and servants therein, should be in the queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary.

" That the power to be exercised by your royal highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the King (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases), to the granting of any office in reversion, or to the granting, for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, any pension, or any other office whatever except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person except his majesty's issue, who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

" These are the chief points which have occurred to his majesty's servants.

I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the supposition that his majesty's illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix beforehand the precise period for which these provisions ought to last; but if unfortunately his majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period than there is reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament, to reconsider these provisions, whenever the circumstances appear to call for it.

" If your royal highness should be pleased to require any further explanation on the subject, and should condescend to signify your orders, that I should have the honour of attending your royal highness for that purpose, or to intimate any other mode in which your royal highness may wish

to receive such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your royal highness's commands.—I have the honour to be,

With the utmost deference and submission,

Sir,

Your royal highness's most dutiful and devoted servant,

W. PITT."

Downing Street, Tuesday Night,
Dec. 30th, 1788.

To this communication, the Prince of Wales, not deeming it expedient to enter into a personal correspondence with Mr. Pitt, caused the following answer to be delivered to the lord chancellor.

" The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in parliament are now in a train, which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of

the plan which his majesty's confidential servants conceive proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

" Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is silent. Nothing done by the two houses of parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previous to any discussion in parliament, the outlines of a scheme of government are sent for his consideration, in which it is proposed that he shall be personally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority and public welfare may be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjustifiable, were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his *father* and sovereign, as well as of re-

gard for the public interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both.

" In the state of deep distress in which the Prince and the whole royal family were involved, by the heavy calamity which has fallen upon the King, and at a moment when government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seemed peculiarly to need the cordial and united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to represent the King's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest son, the heir apparent of his kingdoms, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his majesty's just prerogatives and authority, as well as *most interested* in the happiness, the

prosperity, and the glory of the people.

"The Prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him; he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the possibility of any arguments of his producing an alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it. But he trusts, with confidence, to the wisdom and justice of parliament, when the whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation.

"He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt—and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity in every branch of the administration of affairs—a

project for dividing the royal family from each other, for separating the court from the state; and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public, by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity.

"The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan, are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any general principles, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless he trusts) in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

"With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his majesty's ministers on these points. They have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld.

"The Prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there, as a trust for the benefit of the people; and that they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject, must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be *strong*, manifest, and urgent, which

calls for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative; or which can justify the Prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

"The Prince has only to add, that if security for his majesty's repossessing his rightful government, whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive, to that end, to be the first to urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share.

"If attention to what is presumed

might be his majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his majesty's recovery, be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge, that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminished energy—a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

" Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper to suggest to the Prince, the restraints he

proposes against the Prince's granting away the King's real and personal property. The Prince does not conceive, that, during the King's life, he is, by law, entitled to make any such grant; and he is sure, that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

"The Prince has discharged an indispensible duty, in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted for his consideration.

"His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state,

outweighs, in the Prince's mind, every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful task imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the King's subjects he deplores the most) in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties, inseparable from this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the King, and with advantage to the public.

(Signed) G. P."

Carlton House, January 2, 1789.

Dangerous as their plan seemed to be in theory, and hostile to the true spirit of the constitution, ministers were encouraged to proceed with it, *by the* addresses that were presented

to them from various parts of the kingdom, expressive of the gratitude of the persons by whom they were sent for the assertion which had been made by the House of Commons of their right of providing for the present deficiency.

On the 16th of January Mr. Pitt opened his propositions to the House of Commons. He began by observing, that he should make no alteration in what he had intended to suggest, and stated as the ground of their proceedings, that the King's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that the greatest length to which the malady was ordinarily known to extend was a year and a half or two years, the shortest three months, and the average five or six. Such was the decisive opinion of Dr. Willis, who of all the King's physicians was most entitled to credit, as having had the

greatest experience in this particular disorder, and being most constant in his attendance upon his patient. Mr. Pitt adverted to the regency bills of Queen Ann, of King George I. and King George II. where, the circumstance in contemplation being a minority, the prospect of a more certain and longer delegation of power was afforded than in the present instance. In each of these cases, the powers of the crown had been lodged not in a single hand, but in a great variety of persons. He had himself considerable doubts whether these bills were well adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they had passed, and, accordingly, was firmly of opinion, that the political power should be intrusted by parliament to one individual. But as the delegated authority had been in former instances restricted by the mode in which it was distributed, so he

deemed it more especially right in the present, that it should have certain limitations. He reasoned particularly upon the limitation respecting the peerage, and contended that it could scarcely be maintained, that the want of such an incentive for a few months was likely to deprive the country of the service of its meritorious citizens. The prerogative of creating peers was of a very delicate nature, since an honour of this sort was permanent, and when once bestowed could not be revoked. As an instance of its possible abuse, Mr. Pitt desired to make the supposition of such a confederacy and cabal (the minister here evidently alluded to the coalition) being formed, as had been convicted a few years since, of a design to overthrow the constitution, alleging, that by such persons they might expect the regent to be *advised to* create so great a number of

peers, as would considerably embarrass the crown in carrying on the government, when the King should again be restored to his regal capacity.

The last proposition, Mr. Pitt said, was not the less important and indispensible. Without investing the queen with the controul of the household, she could not properly discharge the guardianship, which they were unanimously disposed to commit to her care. It was impossible to suppose that the influence arising from this patronage could operate to the disadvantage of the regent's administration. For a moment to harbour the idea would be equally romantic and indecent. He believed no man would venture to charge blame of any kind upon this great personage, who had lived almost thirty years in the country a pattern of do*mestic* affection, tenderness, and virtue, *against* whom the breath of calumny

had not dared to utter a whisper, and who could not merit it at a moment of such complicated affliction. The master of the horse indeed, the lord chamberlain, the lord steward of the household, and others were by many thought high officers of state; but the fact was otherwise. They were the menial servants of the crown, essential to its dignity and splendour. He urged it to the house as a matter of humanity and loyalty not to interfere with the King's domestic arrangements. What, he asked, must that great personage feel, when he waked from the trance of his faculties, and asked for his attendants, if he were told, that his subjects had taken advantage of his momentary absence of mind, and stripped him of the symbols of his personal elevation? Mr. Pitt added, that he was sensible of what was due to the regent, who ought to have

a retinue adequate to the importance of his station. He meant to propose such a retinue, and he was confident, that, though it might involve some additional expence, it would cheerfully and unreluctantly be contributed by that house.

The arguments of the minister were attacked with great energy by Lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and others. Lord North particularly controverted Mr. Pitt's description of the great officers of the household. They might, observed his lordship, in the time of King George II. have been intimately connected with the interior of the palace, and been in the strict sense of the word domestics of the sovereign; but it was well known that of late years the lords of the bedchamber had been otherwise employed. They were indeed the political servants of the crown, not appointed

for the domestic convenience of the monarch, but for his public pomp, being a part of the pageantry annexed to his office, and a source of the influence which it was intended to maintain among the people at large.

Mr. Sheridan declared that the minister had discovered in one part of his speech the true motives of his conduct, when he had stated his apprehension, that the government would fall into the hands of those persons, who he had dared to assert had been convicted of a conspiracy to overturn the constitution. This was the real spring of Mr. Pitt's measures. Had the regent intended to have kept the present ministers in office, the limitations, he verily believed, would never have been heard of. The whole of Mr. Pitt's conduct was confessedly governed by party considerations, and the impulse of his *personal* ambition. He had talked of

the evil advisers to whom the regent might possibly be exposed. But was there in fact any reason to dread such a circumstance? If it occurred, was there not vigour enough left in that house, to crush any attempts at the abuse of authority, to call bad ministers to a severe account, and address the regent to remove them from his councils?

Mr. Pitt had more than once wantonly attacked that side of the house, as containing a political party. He made no scruple to declare, that he thought it the glory and honour of his life to belong to that party. Was it a disgrace to have been formed under the Marquis of Rockingham, and under his banners to have combated with success in the cause of the people? Was it a disgrace to be connected *with the* Duke of Portland, a noble*man,* who, actuated solely by the

desire of the public welfare, dedicated himself unremittingly to the service of his country? Of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan remarked, that it was his characteristic distinction, fully to possess himself of the affection of all those who were in habits of intercourse with him, and to force them by the most powerful and amiable sort of compulsion to participate in his fortune. With respect to his talents he would not speak of them. They could derive no additional lustre from the most sanguine panegyric of the most enlightened of his friends. Thus much he would only observe, with regard to the extent of his mind and the keenness of his understanding, that it was the best proof of any other man's talents to be able to comprehend the enlargement and feel the superiority of those of his friend. He regarded *the friend*ship of such a man as the

greatest happiness that could befal him; and he desired to know whether the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox were the less worthy of the confidence of their country, or the more unfit to become ministers, because an arrogant individual chose presumptuously to load them with calumny.—Mr. Sheridan condemned in the strongest terms the idea of reserving the patronage of the household, which could answer no other purpose but what Mr. Pitt had unjustly charged upon Mr. Fox, the erecting a fortress, from which, when out of office, he might successfully counteract the measures of administration. The pretence, that the feelings of the King would be shocked when he recovered and found his household changed, was ridiculous. The bad advisers of the regent were *to be* allowed the power of making *war and peace*, and alliances, and ex-

erting various other important prerogatives. To talk therefore of the feelings of the King as Mr. Pitt did, was to suppose that he would be less shocked to learn that the constitution of the government was changed, part of his dominions ceded to foreign potentates, and a thousand calamities and disgraces entailed upon his country, than be informed of the most trivial alteration in his domestic arrangements. Mr. Sheridan concluded a brilliant speech, with describing the ex-minister, as coming down to the house in state, with the cap of liberty upon the end of a white staff, a retinue of black and white sticks attending him, and an army of beef-eaters to clear his way through the lobby.

In the House of Peers, the ministerial resolutions were destined to experience an opposition equally resolute, and equally ineffectual. A speech

intended to have been spoken by the Duke of York on the occasion, but which for some reason or other was not delivered, is in itself so beautiful a composition, and according to our ideas comes so near up to what were the sentiments of the Prince of Wales, and the other branches of his illustrious family in this melancholy dilemma of the royal house, that we feel no hesitation in laying it before our readers. It appeared in the newspapers of the day under the title of a speech, intended to have been delivered by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the debate on the regency bill.

"My Lords,

"My wishes would lead me to take no part at all in the debates on this bill, but to submit myself implicitly to your lordships' discretion. But the point to which matters have been

brought, does not leave it in my own choice whether I shall speak, or whether I shall be silent.

"I see the children of the king separated from their father—the mother alienated from her offspring—the whole royal family degraded and excluded, not from their rank and situation only, but from the first and dearest privileges of nature. The children and brothers of his majesty are excluded from any share as principals, or even by participation and advice, in the care of the King. We have been rejected one by one, and name by name. This, my lords, I own sinks deep into my mind.

"From the very beginning of these transactions I thought that the intention of those who have taken the lead in them could not be mistaken. They began by *a formal declaration of right, so perfectly* uncalled for, that it

could not (as I then conceived) have any other purpose than that of conveying to the world an opinion that the Prince of Wales had questioned the just powers of parliament, or had maintained a claim to the regency independent of the recognition of the two houses.

"Whatever the views might be of those who brought it forward, it was impossible that I should consider it in any other light than as a scheme to throw unmerited suspicion on the Prince of Wales, and to prejudice him in the opinions and hearts of the people. These I am sure my brother thinks his best inheritance; and that the regency, and even the throne, or a greater throne, if such there were, are nothing without them.

"I was authorized by the Prince of Wales to disavow any such claim *on his* part, and faithfully executed

my commission. I did it with the greater cheerfulness, because the opinion of the Prince of Wales was exactly my own. But your lordships well remember in what manner, and on what principles, that measure was persevered in. The gratitude of his majesty's servants, with I know not what appeal to heaven, was set in opposition to the gratitude, the duty, and natural affection of all his children and both his majesty's brothers, in order to justify a declaration which struck obliquely at the honour of all his majesty's family*.

* In this part of his speech his royal highness evidently meant to allude to what had fallen from Lord Thurlow on a former day. In answer to the speech delivered by the royal duke in an early stage of the discussion, and which we have already had occasion to refer to, the chancellor observed, "that his feelings were rendered more poignant, from having been in the habits of personally receiving various marks of indulgence and kindness from the suffering *monarch*. His debt of gratitude to his majesty

"Your lordships well know that this exclusion is not warranted by precedent; and that this is undoubtedly the first instance of such a trust in this, or probably in any country from which the princes of the blood have all been rejected.

"The exclusion, therefore, cannot be referred to any general principle;

was ample, for the many favours his majesty had graciously bestowed upon him, which, "*when he forgot, might God forget him.*" Mr. Burke, alluding to this celebrated speech, and to another by the same noble person, in which he compared the King to the unfortunate Darius,

"Deserted in his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed,"

observed, with a mixture of sarcasm and ridicule, that 'the theatrical tears which were shed on those occasions, were not the tears of patriots for dying laws—but of lords for their expiring places. The iron tear that flowed down Pluto's cheek, rather resembled the bubbling of the Styx, than the gentle murmuring stream of Aganippe. In fact, they were tears for his majesty's *bread;* yet those, who shed them, would stick *by the King's* loaf, as long as a single cut of it

but must of necessity, and in the fair construction of all men, come home to some ground of disqualification, and some circumstances of distrust, personal and peculiar to ourselves.

"When I look to the shocking nature of the suspicion, on which our expulsion is grounded, your lordships would think me unpardonable, if I did not rise, in the face of the world, to assert the honour of a family, which till now has never been impeached, and for which the British parliament and the British nation have been used to express affection and respect.

remained; they would fasten to the hard crust, and gnaw it, while two crumbs of it held together; and what was more extraordinary, they would proudly declare at the time, that it was the honour of the service, and the dignity of their offices, which they regarded; and that, as to the emolument, they did not value the money *three skips of a louse.* This was gratitude, a degree of gratitude which courtiers never failed to exhibit." "*Mem. of the* late Right Hon. *C. J. Fox.*" p. 272.

" My lords, it is not to be expected that I should condescend to purge myself or any of my family of the suspicion of attempting the life or prolonging the malady of my parent, if we were suffered to be even in the remote character of an adviser in the care of his person—I cannot brook the thought that I should be called to do so. I do not rise to clear myself and my blood from so scandalous an imputation—I rise to demand your lordships' protection and justice against a monstrous oppression.

" My father, my lords, did not suspect me of parricide. I have ever honoured him; and I had reason to think I possessed a large share indeed of his tenderness, from the earliest period of my own memory, to that fatal hour in which his has been interrupted. If God in his mercy to the *King*, and his children, and his people,

should restore that memory, and should revive the affections of his heart, I have no reason to think he will applaud the authors of my disgrace, or account those his friends who have branded his children and his brothers with the suspicion of murder and rebellion. All this is pretended to be done for the King: but it is no great presumption in me to assert, that I know, and can speak the sentiments of my father as authentically as any of the creatures of his favour.

"My lords, I have the honour of being a member of another great body, as well as of this. With what face can I show myself to a common-wealth of princes, and to a people subjected to me, when I am thus disgraced in a country that gave me birth? I am a Prince of the empire—I am the son of your King.—If these should be no titles to justice, I am a peer of parliament,

and have a right to defend myself in this house. If I am stripped of all these, there is one character dearer to me than all the rest, I am an Englishman, and am entitled freely to contend for my rights.

"I pity the situation of the Prince of Wales. He must suffer much in silence. It is the unhappy prerogative of greatness. But care is taken in this bill that he shall not waste the King's property. I know he never desired to have power over it. If he had, I know the King's property could not be in safer hands; and this is the unanimous sentiment of the whole family. If we were to chuse a trustee, he should be our trustee, in preference to all the world. Happy in his protection, secure in his love, the family would find their honour in his glory, their provision in his wealth, their opulence in his bounty. We know his integrity—we

are conscious of his heart. He never meddled with the King's property but to secure it, and to secure it in a manner the most prudent and most honourable. For this there are witnesses in this house, if they chuse on this occasion to do justice. More might be told. For my share in any (I pray God most remote) eventual interest in that property, I regard it not at all. I am wounded in a more tender part—but I have brothers and sisters who cannot speak for themselves."

Why this admirable address was not delivered by the Duke of York, in his place, in the House of Peers, it perhaps would be superfluous now to inquire, but the probable reason was, a certain degree of timidity and indecision among the friends of the Prince's party, and some manifest symptoms of approaching convalescence, which enabled the medical politicians of the

day to prognosticate that the indisposition of the King could not be of any long duration. There is indeed every reason to suppose, that it was this persuasion, from the first intimation of the King's malady, which induced the friends of Mr. Pitt to adhere so firmly to the interests of that minister, and in this they were justified not only by the event, but from previous calculations drawn from the mass of people afflicted with the same disease. On the other hand, the opposition seemed to consider the King's recovery as a distant, if not a problematical event, and therefore they wished to provide for the full and vigorous exercise of the royal authority, till the capacity of the sovereign was sufficiently restored to enable him to resume the functions of his high office. The opposition were anxious to preserve the constitution in its purity, and conceiv-

ing that this could not be done without granting to the regent the same powers and prerogatives that the King was possessed of, and towhich the Prince would have been entitled had he succeeded to the supreme power by a natural demise, with an honourable consistency of principle, and attachment to the pure spirit of the constitution, resisted at every step the limitations and restrictions with which, manifestly for the purposes of party ambition, it was proposed to clog the regency of the Prince of Wales.

The minister of this period, a man of unbounded arrogance, and surrounded by a base and servile host of dependants and sycophants, to whom he too often, certainly not from the easiness of his temper, but from the necessities of his circumstances, surrendered up his better judgment. All the events of this period may be traced

to the intrigues and cabals of the low minded and interested individuals with whom he was connected, and the whole scheme of the regency was a plan (we had nearly said a plot) to continue Mr. Pitt and his friends in the most essential, important, and lucrative offices of government.

After several ineffectual attempts on the part of the friends of the Prince of Wales to modify the restrictions of the regency bill, and to invest his royal highness with superior powers, the two houses of parliament agreed to the following resolutions, which were presented by a deputation of peers and commoners to the Prince, on the 30th of January, 1789.

" Resolved, that for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, and to *such* extent, as the present circumstances

and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his royal highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which belong to the king of this realm to use, exercise, and perform, according to the laws thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

"Resolved, that the power so to be given to his royal highness the Prince of Wales shall not extend to the *granting* of any rank or dignity of the

peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to his majesty's royal issue, who shall have attained the full age of twenty one years.

" Resolved, that the said powers should not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

" Resolved, that the said powers should not extend to the granting of any part of his majesty's real or personal estate, except so far as relates to the renewal of leases.

" Resolved, that the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, *should* be committed to the Queen's *most* excellent majesty; and that her

majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid: and that for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid, and with power from time to time, as there may be cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Die Mercurii, 28 *Januarii*, 1789.

"Resolved, that a committee be

appointed, to attend his royal highness the Prince of Wales, with the resolutions which have been agreed to by the lords and commons for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during his majesty's illness, by empowering his royal highness to exercise such authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, subject to the limitations and restrictions which the circumstances of the case appear at present to require: and that the committee do express the hope which the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, entertain, that his royal highness, from his regard to the interests of his majesty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his royal highness, as soon as an act of parliament shall have *been* passed for carrying the said reso*lution* into effect."

CHAPTER VIII.

ANSWER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE RESOLUTIONS OF PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH LEGISLATURE—ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, FROM THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF IRELAND—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S REPLY—THE KING'S RECOVERY—FINAL ANSWER OF THE PRINCE TO THE IRISH DELEGATES—LETTER OF THE PRINCE TO THE QUEEN—BENEVOLENCE OF THE PRINCE TO LONDON AND EDINBURGH—EXCURSION TO YORK—ADDRESS OF THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF YORK TO THE PRINCE—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S REPLY—ENTERTAINMENT AT WENTWORTH HOUSE—ACCIDENT THAT BEFEL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS.

To the communication given in the preceding chapter, the Prince of Wales was pleased to make the following answer.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I thank you for communicating to me the resolutions agreed upon by the two houses, and I request you to assure them in my name, that my duty to the King, my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority; together with my respect for the united desires of the two houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me, in conformity to the resolutions now communicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust, in the particular circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former exam-

ple, my hope of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But confiding that the limitations, on the exercise of the royal authority, deemed necessary for the present, have been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two houses, and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope, that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the King, his crown, and people, may be successful."

While the two houses of the legislature of Great Britain were thus employed *in* framing limitations and re-

strictions, to fetter the power of the Prince Regent, and cramp the exercise of the royal authority within narrower bounds than any sovereign of the country had ever submitted to, the parliament of Ireland pursued a very different course, and it was agreed by both houses, though not without considerable opposition, and very spirited protests being entered upon the journals, that the regency of the kingdom of Ireland should be conferred on his royal highness the Prince of Wales, during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition. An address to that effect was accordingly prepared, and the lord lieutenant (the Marquis of Buckingham) was requested to convey it to England, but refused to do so, under the impression that his official duty, and the oath he had taken as chief governor of Ireland, obliged him to decline transmitting such a document.

The two houses of parliament, upon this, passed a vote of censure upon the conduct of the lord lieutenant, and appointed delegates from each house, with the Duke of Leinster, the first peer of Ireland, at their head, to wait upon the Prince of Wales, with the following address, which was presented to his royal highness on the 27th of February.

"*To his royal highness George Prince of Wales.*

"The humble address of the lords spiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled.

"*May it please your royal highness,*

"We his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your royal highness, with *hearts full* of the most loyal and affec-

ttachment to the person and
rnme nt of your royal father, and
ores the deepest and most grateful
of the numerous blessings which
ve enjoyed under that illustrious
se, whose accession to the throne
hese realms has established civil
constitutional liberties upon a basis
ch, we trust, will never be shaken;
and at the same time, to condole with your royal highness upon the grievous malady, with which it has pleased heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

"We have, however, the consolation of reflecting, that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us, until the virtues of your royal highness have been so matured, as to enable your royal highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his *majesty's* subjects of both kingdoms are *directed* to your royal highness.

"We therefore humbly beg leave to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging."

To this address, so conformable to the frank, generous, and liberal temper of the Irish nation, and so honourable to the Prince of Wales, for the confidence which it reposed in his character and principles, his royal highness returned the following answer.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The address from the lords, spi-

ritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demand my warmest and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and dutiful attachment to the person and government of the King, my father, manifested in the address of the two houses.

"What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his majesty, of their uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

"If in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to

the King, my father, and to the inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have the understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

"But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer, trusting, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection, to the loyal and generous people of

Ireland, which I feel indelibly impressed on my heart."

The King at this period was daily advancing towards a state of convalescence; but the Irish delegates continued some time longer in town, to wait the issue of this extraordinary conjuncture, and oftener than once were honoured by the prince with invitations, to partake of the hospitalities of Carlton-house. At length, the king's perfect recovery being no longer a matter of doubt, the Prince of Wales on the 12th of March delivered his final answer, to the deputation from both houses of the parliament of Ireland, in the following terms.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The happy event of the King's recovery, and the consequent re-assumption of the exercise of his auspicious

government, announced by his royal commission for declaring the further causes of holding the parliament of Great Britain, has done away the melancholy necessity which gave rise to the arrangement proposed by the parliament of Ireland; but nothing can obliterate from my memory, and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumstances by which it was attended.

"I consider your generous kindness to his majesty's royal family, and the provision you made for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the King, at the time when, by an afflicting dispensation of providence, his government had suffered an intermission, and his house was deprived of its natural protector.

"*I shall* not pay so ill a compliment

to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to suppose that they were mistaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views, and the purity of my intentions. A manly confidence, directing the manner of proceeding towards those who entertain sentiments becoming the high situation to which they are born, furnishes the most powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the same time, that the liberality of sentiment, which, in conveying a trust confers an honour, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance, and that public jealousy, which ought to watch over the exercise of power.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally, I cannot but regret your departure. I have had the opportunity of acquiring a know-

ledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits: both have made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

"I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland, to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their mutual perfect freedom will find the closest as well as happiest bond of their connexion."

The last documents which we shall present to our readers, relative to the transactions of this interesting and memorable period, is a letter, which was transmitted to the Queen by the Prince of Wales, in his own name, and that of the Duke of York, who, on the report of the King's convalescence, and

after the lord chancellor had several interviews with his majesty, applied in vain to be admitted to the royal presence. In consequence of this the following representation, or remonstrance, was drawn up, and sent with the signatures of the royal brothers to the quen

"Your majesty's most dutiful son, the Prince of Wales, most humbly begs leave to represent to your majesty the following circumstances.

"It has for some days been confidently reported, and is generally credited, that his majesty is happily restored to health; though that health is not yet perfectly confirmed. It must be on a supposition of this fact, that the lord chancellor has been introduced into his majesty's presence.

"That the Prince of Wales, with the Duke of York, has frequently made most respectful and dutiful applica-

tions to be permitted to see the King their father; but that they have met with a refusal, on the idea that his majesty was by no means in a condition to be approached by them, without the danger of affecting his sensibility, in such a manner, as to renew or increase his illness.

"They beg leave to inform your majesty, that, in such a moment, the Prince claims a right to see his father; as a gratification due to his feelings as a son. The Prince claims access to his majesty in right of his birth. He claims, at fitting times, and with proper precautions, an audience of the King, as being actually nominated by a bill, which has passed the house of commons, for the arduous and delicate trust of his majesty's government during his illness.

"The rule of the Prince of Wales's conduct must in a great measure be

formed upon an accurate idea of his majesty's condition. He apprehends that he owes it to his majesty, and to his majesty's faithful subjects, to do all that in his power lies, that no man shall make use of his majesty's name whilst he labours under illness, which may redound to the detriment of his majesty's government—which may, against his will, and by surprise, possibly tend to the dishonour and disadvantage of his family.

"Her majesty will naturally expect that the Prince of Wales should be exceedingly anxious and apprehensive, lest, if he and the Duke of York should not see the king (though they may be, against their wishes, excluded from his majesty's presence), that circumstance might be hereafter employed by persons not well disposed to your majesty, or to them, to prejudice his majesty's mind against them, as defi-

cient in reverence, duty, and natural affection.

"If it is thought that their seeing his majesty might agitate his mind, and retard his recovery, the Prince is sure that the same reason might be urged with regard to the chancellor, who, in his character of minister, must naturally remind the King of affairs of state, and renew in his mind the cares and anxieties of his government.

"The Prince of Wales desires and requests, as guarantees and witnesses of the prudent use which he and the Duke of York will certainly make of this visit of duty and respect, the presence of two or more of the attending physicians, provided that all persons who may operate on the King's mind, by restraint, be not present.

"The Prince of Wales intreats, that if the physicians should be of opinion *that his* majesty's state of health will

not safely permit the desired interview, the Prince, for his future justification with the King, may receive that opinion in writing signed by them.

"The Duke of York most humbly supplicates your majesty for the same indulgence, in paying his humble and affectionate duty to the King, his father."

Among the events of this remarkable period, we cannot forbear mentioning, that the Prince of Wales, with his usual consideration, and beneficence, apprehending that the poor of the city of London might sustain some hardships and inconvenience from the delay of his majesty's annual bounty, directed his treasurer to pay into the chamber of the City of London the sum of 1000*l.* for the relief of the poor of the same, and likewise directed 200*l.* to be transmitted to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, for the same purpose.

A motion was made soon after in the Court of Common Council, and carried unanimously, for a vote of thanks to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, for his timely and munificent benefaction; but an amendment, moved by Mr. Deputy Birch, that thanks should also be given to his majesty, for the frequent bounty which had been extended by him for the same humane purpose, and to congratulate the Prince on his treading in the steps of his father, was rejected. This amendment, which came from a well known party-man, and was evidently of a party complexion, gave rise to a warm debate, as being founded in an error of the grossest kind. It was observed, that the annual bounty of the King did not come from the private purse of the King, but from the civil list, and made a part of the annual grant of the nation for that establishment; whereas, the present mag-

ent bounty came from the purse of the Prince, and would not even prevent the common sum from being paid into the City Chamber, as soon as the government was happily settled. This being clearly explained by the recorder, Alderman Wilkes, Alderman Skinner, and others, Mr. Deputy Birch at length consented to withdraw his motion.

Soon after the recovery of the King, the Prince of Wales set off on an excursion to Yorkshire, and honoured the races at York with his presence. The day after his arrival, he was waited upon by the corporation, who presented the following address to his royal highness, with the freedom of their ancient city, in a most elegant gold box, which were very graciously received.

"*May it please your royal highness,*

"The lord mayor, and corporation, of the City of York, animated

with the most lively gratitude for the high honour conferred on this ancient city by your presence, beg leave to approach your royal person, with the utmost respect, and most cordial affection. This honour, Sir, is greatly increased by your royal highness's being the only heir apparent to the imperial crown of this realm whom we have ever had the felicity personally to address.

"They cannot resist the present favourable opportunity of expressing their just admiration of, and unfeigned acknowledgments for the wisdom and moderation which so eminently distinguished the affectionate and princely conduct of your royal highness, in the most awful and trying situation, when all men looked up to your royal highness for protection, with the fullest assurance of receiving it; and blessed as *this kingdom* hath been by divine Pro-

vidence, in the happy recovery of our most gracious sovereign, (for whom they entertain the warmest sentiments of duty and loyalty) it is their fervent prayer, that when it shall please the Almighty to call his majesty to a heavenly throne, your royal highness may succeed him in the hearts and affections of a free, brave, and loyal people, and long live to reign over them with the happiness and glory of a patriot king.

"Your royal highness is respectfully intreated, to permit your royal name to be enrolled among the freemen of his ancient city, and to accept the freedom thereof, which is thus humbly offered to your royal highness's gracious reception."

To this address, his royal highness was pleased to return the following answer.

" *My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,*

" I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address, and for the satisfaction you express at my visit to the City of York.

" It gives me sincere pleasure, that my conduct has been properly understood by you, and that my opinions as to the powers necessary, to have been trusted to me for the general welfare, have not been mistaken by the respectable citizens of York, for an extravagant lust of power, or any unbecoming haste to assume the seat, which to be called to as late as possible is the constant and warmest wish of my heart. Impressed with these sentiments, I must, above all others, rejoice in that happy event, which is the subject of your joyful congratulations, and which touches my feelings not more as an *affectionate* son, than as the person

terested in every thing which ncerns the prosperity and happiness of the realm.

"I with pleasure accept the freedom ur ancient city, and your offer of olling my name amo g its citizens."

m York, the nce of Wales eded to Wentworth House, the t rl Fitzwilliam, the heir of the estate and virtues of the illustrious Marquis of Rockingham. At this hospitable mansion, a magnificent fête was prepared in honour of his royal highness. Nothing could be more superb and sumptuous, than the whole of the arrangements. In the true style of old English hospitality, and which is no where to be found in greater perfection than in the county of York, nor exercised with more generous splendour by any nobleman, than *the* worthy representative of the house *of* Wentworth, the gates of Went-

worth Park, on being honoured with the presence of the heir apparent, were thrown open, to the love and loyalty of the surrounding country, and no fewer than twenty thousand persons partook of the liberality of the noble owner. The diversions (consisting of all the rural sports in use in that part of the country) lasted the whole day, and his lordship's park was the grand stage on which the numerous personages played their parts. The spectators were the Prince, with his attendants, and the nobility and gentry from every part of the country without distinction. The dinner was an assemblage of every delicacy that the world could produce; and the ball at night, consisting of more than two hundred ladies, the flower of Yorkshire, with their partners, was the most brilliant ever seen beyond the Humber.

In coming to town from Wentworth

house, his royal highness encountered an alarming accident, but which was attended by no ill consequences. About two miles north of Newark, a cart crossing the road, struck the axle of the Prince's coach, and overturned it. It was on the verge of a slope, and the carriage fell a considerable way, turned over twice, and was shivered to pieces. There were in the coach with his royal highness, Lord Clermont, Colonel St. Leger, and Colonel (Lord Viscount) Lake, recently deceased. Two of the Prince's servants were on the box. The Prince suffered a slight contusion in the shoulder, and his wrist was sprained. His highness was undermost in the first fall, and by the next roll of the carriage was brought uppermost, when with great presence of mind he disengaged himself, and was the first to rescue and disengage his fellow travellers. Lord Clermont was the most

hurt. He was much wounded in the face, and was otherwise so severely bruised, that he was obliged to remain at Newark. The other gentlemen were, like the Prince, fortunate enough to escape with little injury. The accident happened at ten o'clock at night, and it was a clear moon-light. The carriage was his royal highness's own travelling coach, with hired horses and postillions; and the mischance was occasioned by the wilfulness of the postillions, who drove to clear the cart with their common precipitation. Colonel Lake's post-chaise being close behind, the Prince and Lord Clermont went forward in it to Newark, where his royal highness slept, and proceeded to London the next morning.

END OF VOL. I.

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